

## TIN News Update 20 February 1991

### Reports from Tibet November 1990 - February 1991

#### Stability 'Achieved': Controls and Arrests Continue

Supplement: The Propaganda Offensive

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#### Stability 'Achieved' in Tibet

The authorities in Tibet have announced that they have defeated the nationalist threat in Tibet. The announcement indicates an important political development for the Chinese, who until now had said that 'an element of instability' remained.

People's Political Consultative Committee (CPPCC), which was celebrating its 3rd Regional Conference.

The CPPCC is an organisation composed of non-Communist and non-Chinese supporters of the Chinese Communist Party. In Tibet its members are mainly former aristocrats or high-ranking clergy who are

for the first time since renewed unrest broke out in 1987 the authorities are now saying without qualification that the situation in Tibet is 'stable'. This appears to mean that there is no further threat of public protest or unrest.

The formal announcement came in a speech on 25th October 1990 to the Lhasa branch of the Chinese

expected to endorse official Chinese policies and communicate them to Tibetans.

Jamphel Sherab, in the inaugural speech of the Conference, said that the situation was no longer "unstable". Sherab announced "the achievement of a political environment of stability and unity throughout

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the Tibet Autonomous Region; the popular vision of a happy working people's society; and in particular, as regards our Region, the realisation of political stability, ...[and the] achieving of great victory over the splittists."

He said that "in particular the gradual return to peace and normality after the lifting of Martial Law" had been achieved.

#### **Stability reached 6 months after Martial Law Lifted**

Martial Law was lifted six months earlier on 1st May 1990, a move which officials claimed at the time meant that the situation was "stable". But officials continued to refer to the threat of nationalist unrest.

The Minister of State Security, Jia Chungwang, had described the situation in Tibet as "stable", according to a report in Chinese language on Tibet TV on 23rd August 1990. But he added that "it is necessary to note that the conspiratorial activities of ... national splittists ... are still very grave."

According to a report broadcast on Tibet TV on 14th September, Zi Cheng, a top party official in Lhasa, called on the courts and the police to "give top priority to the work of stabilising the situation" and stressed the importance of "eliminating factors of instability".

Gyatso, a vice-chairman of the local Government, said "ensuring stability" was "of special importance" and warned people "not to underestimate the enemy", according to a Tibet TV report on 18th September.

China's Party Secretary Jiang Zemin had defined stability as "the overriding task" during his July visit to Tibet, as well as in all his post-Tiananmen speeches in China. The task was given particular prominence during China's staging of the Asian Games in September.

The confidence of officials in Tibet has been fuelled by the lack of unrest during the four-week 'alert period' which finished on October 15th. Police control was intense and they were easily able to contain the small incidents, including at least three attempted demonstrations, that occurred during the month.

#### **Economic Progress and Tibetan-Chinese Friendship**

The achievement of stability will allow officials to concentrate on their second objective, defined by Party Secretary Jiang Zemin during his July tour of Tibet as "insistence on the central task of economic development". The first objective had been "an in-depth struggle against splittism".

In his speech Sherab claimed that there had already been "cautious" economic progress as well as "production increases by our various fronts". But he highlighted the need "In the light of such a positive environment, ...to advance the economy and education of our region".

He concluded by calling on the CPPCC to "courageously unite to move forward to make TAR economically enriched". The task of the Political Consultative Committee was, he said, to encourage "mutual trust,

and shouldering announced taxation" ["gcig sems gcig gtad, khrel grags mnyam 'khur" (TIN Doc 9(SS))]. It is not clear what taxation he was referring to.

Throughout his speech he stressed the primary role of the CPPCC as a conciliatory agency between the Chinese and the Tibetans, calling on them to cement links between the Chinese and the Tibetans. "The protection of the friendship and unity between the Chinese and Tibetan Nationalities, needs to be strengthened on all fronts. Friendship and unity [mthun bsgril] are the source of power", he told the Conference.

"It is evident that we have an environment of political stability, friendship and unity under which the peaceful workers can engage themselves in the various tasks for further progress, both in the mainland and in the TAR. This movement is like the rising flow of a river in summer that cannot be stopped," Sherab said.

#### **CPPCC Role in 'Achieving Stability'**

The Draft Report of the Lhasa CPPCC Executive Committee, presented to the Conference by Lhamoz Dolkar later the same day, made even stronger claims for the success of the authorities in crushing the "despicable upheavals of demonstrations against revolution", also referred to as "the rebellion through demonstrations" or "the White menace".

The report [TIN Doc 10(SS)] congratulated the army, the armed police and the "intelligence staff" for their "firm and effective measures" against the splittists. "It is a matter of pleasure and enlightening experience that all the peoples of the different nationalities of TAR ... succeeded in the struggle against the splittists as a result of which the political situation is improving by the day," it added.

The Committee also claimed that it had contributed to the success of the anti-splittist efforts in a major way by condemning nationalists "wholeheartedly", and by "raising aloft the banner of Patriotism and Socialism". Its role included improving "the system of partnership between Party and People under the leadership of the Party".

The CPPCC, which probably has direct links with the Party only through the United Front, claims to have an advisory role in the local Government. The report says it "contributed to policy considerations" made by the local Government. These contributions were made "keeping the fundamental objectives of political consultative discussion in mind", probably a reference to the need to accept the leadership of the Party and of Socialism.

The report refers at some length to the appeasement role of the organisation and suggests that the political unrest in Lhasa led to extended debate within official circles:

"In the last three years the Political Consultative Committee has, in order to achieve social stability, friendship and unity, worked hard by participating in the many deliberations by listening to political reports and speeches for better understanding of the 'for and against' perspectives in the light of which we

courageously overcame the trouble fomented by a few splittists".

The major role of the CPPCC in Lhasa appears to have been to produce and re-affirm an approved version of Tibetan history. The fourth of its five "main responsibilities" in the last three years has been to overcome splittism "by citing, with clear perception, a large mass of historical data pertaining to the evolution of the history of the Chinese and Tibetan nationalities, [and to have] proved that Tibet is in fact a part of China, a fact which no one can split, destroy or distort without its being recognised as a falsehood," according to the report.

The report called in future for the Executive Committee of the Lhasa CPPCC to undergo further political education. It announced the plan for "members' political awareness to be raised through recontinuation of the twice-a-week study meeting". These study sessions "should be serious, deep and highly educative, as a result of which the situation of TAR and its ideological position could become clear with better political knowledge", said the report.

Both speakers at the meeting referred to General Secretary Jiang Zemin's instruction that the CPPCC should continue to play an important role. The report quotes him as saying that the United Front - the Party agency which runs the Political Consultative Committees - is to be given extra investment. "Henceforth, instead of rationalising [lit. making smaller] the United Front, it should be expanded and strengthened", Jiang is quoted as saying.

"The Patriotic United Front will achieve greater expansion, and make greater progress by rectifying mistakes under the present emerging climate of progress" said the report.

### Official Accuses Foreigners of Demonstrating

A senior Tibetan official has accused foreigners of inciting and taking part in pro-independence demonstrations in Tibet.

He also hinted that the execution of Lobsang Tenzin, suspended since he was sentenced two years ago for the murder of a policeman, is likely to be carried out.

But in a long interview refuting foreign concerns about the treatment of political prisoners in Tibet, the official broke with all precedent by adopting a relatively unaggressive approach to foreign criticism. At no point did he accuse western critics of "interfering in China's internal affairs".

Zi Cheng, a high-ranking Party official in Tibet, and also President of the Lhasa Higher Court, said, in an interview published on 1st January 1991 in the magazine 'Shijie Zhishi', that "some foreigners spread reactionary leaflets in support of separatist elements in Tibet; while other foreigners even donned Tibetan clothing and took part directly in the separatist riots". The interview was reproduced by the BBC Monitoring Service on 7th February 1991.

The Court President was clearly referring to non-Tibetans, whom he said had used "the pretext of "tourism" and "friendship" to carry out espionage and underground opposition organisation".

In December 1988 the Chinese tried to justify shooting a Dutch tourist who was watching a demonstration by saying that she was wearing Tibetan clothes. She later produced the clothes with the bullet holes, which were all standard western attire.

The official also said that some foreigners "wore straw hats to cover their faces and engaged in unspeakable criminal activities". The origin of this allegation is unclear, although many western tourists do wear broad-brimmed hats in Tibet.

Four westerners threw stones during a demonstration on 1st October 1987, and one helped to set fire to a burning police vehicle. At least two Americans were detained with pro-independence leaflets a few days earlier. Another Westerner shouted pro-independence slogans during a demonstration in March 1989.

A group of 45 other westerners who witnessed the 1987 demonstration issued a statement the next day condemning the four who had thrown stones and appealed to westerners to observe but not take part in Tibetan demonstrations.

### Acknowledges letters from Westerners

In a highly unusual development, Zi Cheng referred to letters he had received "from certain Western personalities who make groundless accusations against us and voice grievances on behalf of the rioters."

As President of the Higher Court in Tibet, Zi Cheng is the second listed addressee for all letters concerning Tibetan cases from Amnesty International, and may well have received up to 200,000 letters about the political prisoner Ngawang Phulchun, who was Amnesty's "prisoner of the month" last ..?? year.

In the interview Zi Cheng gave a relatively measured reply to the Westerners' letters, pointing out that separatists unrest made it impossible for the society to develop its "economic construction", and adding that the three riots of 1987-89 had caused "direct economic losses of 20 million yuan".

He added more conventional justifications, pointing out that separatist activity is illegal according to the Chinese constitution as it is a "violation of the people's fundamental interests". He said those arrested were "criminal elements" and said separatists had been supported since 1959 by "hostile international forces". Some westerners wore "coloured spectacles" and criticised China "entirely out of ulterior motives". He distinguished these misinformed critics from westerners who "incite separatist activity by spreading false rumours". These people acted out of "extremely evil intentions", he said.

But the court official at no point accused western critics of interference in China's internal affairs. This unprecedented development, combined with the unique decision to reply to letters of criticism, may reflect



China's new and more sophisticated policy on 'external propaganda', initiated in Beijing in November 1990 and in Lhasa one month later.

### **Rejects torture claims**

Zi Cheng addressed other points in his replies to western concerns about legal procedures in Tibet. He denied that anyone had died from torture or beatings. But he limited his reply to deaths of "criminal elements who participated directly in the riots" as a result of torture or beatings "in the trial process".

He added that the authorities "have issued orders forbidding the extraction of confessions by force", a clear indication that the Chinese have acted as a result of international criticism.

Some of the allegations of deaths in prison involve prisoners who were not involved in demonstrations and who had either finished or not yet begun trial proceedings. Lhakpa Tsering, aged 20, who is said to have died on from beatings in prison in December 17th 1990, had been arrested 1 year earlier for distributing posters, not for demonstrating.

Zi Cheng said of accusations that prisoners are held in custody before trial that "this complies with our country's legal procedures". This is true of all judicial systems. He did not refer to the time limits in Chinese law and in international law on detention before charging a prisoner.

### **Lobsang Tenzin: "Ample Proof"**

The case of Lobsang Tenzin was the only case dealt with by name. The Court President said that there was "ample proof" that lobsang Tenzin was "one of the seven killers of armed police martyr Yuan Shisheng". official statements had previously only claimed that there were four arrested killers in the case.

There was no suggestion that Lobsang Tenzin had confessed to the crime or that he had shown repentance. This is sure to raise concerns that he will be executed. His death sentence was due to be carried out on or around January 19th 1991 unless he shows genuine repentance". Zi Cheng's statement could be seen as an extended attempt to assess or allay international criticism if the execution is carried out.

The official also gave an unusually detailed response to video footage shown in the west of police violence towards Tibetan demonstrators. He spoke about "some foreign video films" which "only showed scenes of the armed police carrying out their duties, while those depicting the ferocious scenes where the criminal elements used knives against the armed police and committed violent acts...were not seen at all".

The Court President is absolutely correct that scenes implying extreme violence by Tibetans have been omitted from almost all broadcast versions of the video footage in question, which shows Chinese police in action on March 5th 1988.

The original 90-minute video, passed to TIN in London, included extremely lengthy and gruesome shots of the

mutilated body of Yuan Shisheng. These scenes indicated that the police officer had been beaten to death with an iron bar before he was pushed or fell from a window in Lhasa.

The full video has always been made available by TIN. But so far all western editors have omitted shots of the dead body, which would be regarded as too distressing to show on western television. Most editors did include shots of Tibetans throwing stones at police and, later, burning shops.

The full 90-minute Chinese version of the March 1988 demonstrations was almost certainly edited before it was shown to Chinese officials and then leaked to the West. It shows police beating demonstrators but omits all footage of police shooting or killing demonstrators.

There is no footage of Tibetans using knives against police and no such incidents have been reported.

In his interview Zi Cheng appears to indicate that there is still political unrest in the countryside. He says that the situation in Lhasa is "now stable" but that "the situation in the vast farmlands and herlands is relatively stable".

### **Increasing Prominence of Zi Cheng.**

As noted in the TIN Update in November 1990, Zi Cheng is a previously unknown official in Lhasa who has recently been gaining increasing prominence. He is the president of the Higher Court in Lhasa, but begun last summer to take a prominent part in a number of political meetings, in his capacity as a member of the local Communist Party's standing committee.

On 23rd May 1990 he appeared on the front row of the rostrum when the Executive Committee of the Tibetan branch of the Communist Party was shown on local television. On 30th August he was named immediately after the local Party Secretary and Governor as one of the main figures at a meeting on Public Security in Lhasa.

On 14th September he was the main speaker at a party meeting on the straggle against separatism. He presented a detailed programme for the intensification of security in Lhasa during the coming month.

A month later, on 18th October, Tibet TV showed Zi Cheng at a meeting on grassroots security in the city the previous day. This time Zi Cheng was described as the secretary of the Regional Political Science and Law Committee". In November he presided over a series of major personnel changes in the Tibetan court system, and on December 8th he re-appeared as the key speaker in a meeting to assess work against pornography and "counter-revolutionary culture".

The 1st January article in 'Shijie Zhishi', a popular magazine, included a brief description of Zi Cheng's family background, a possible indication that he is being marked for higher office. According to the article, Zi Cheng is a Tibetan whose family were "farm hired hands for 3 generations". Zi Cheng's name, as given by

the official Chinese sources, is not recognisably Tibetan.

He "joined the revolution at the age of 18" and was sent to study at the Beijing Public Security Institute, apparently in 1963. He has worked in public security and judicial work in Tibet ever since.

The Chinese are believed by some observers to be eager to find a Tibetan who can be appointed as Party Secretary of the Tibet Autonomous Region. The top position in Tibet has never been held by a Tibetan, making it difficult for Beijing to claim that their nationality autonomy system is genuinely representative.

One recent attempt to find a Tibetan candidate for the role of Party Secretary is reported to have been aborted because the candidate, a noted Tibetan Marxist, was thought likely to argue from Marxist-Leninist sources that the nationalities have a right to secede.

### **Individual Tourists allowed - in Theory**

The Chinese have officially announced that individual tourists are allowed to enter Tibet. But there is no sign that this is actually true, and it is virtually impossible for individual tourists to reach Lhasa.

In November 1990 Beijing announced that individuals were again permitted to travel in Tibet. The announcement was repeated by Xinhua on 29 December 1990 as part of a year-end assessment of the situation in Tibet, which celebrated the achievement

of "a stable political situation" in Tibet as well as "steady economic development".

"At present the original regulations which stipulated that tourists must be a part of a group were replaced. The new regulation stipulates that individuals are also allowed to enter Tibet for sightseeing", said the announcement.

In early February individual tourists in Chengdu were being refused plane tickets to Lhasa unless they joined a group. Individuals who were given tickets to Lhasa in October and November were refused permission to enter the capital by police at Gonggar airport, 50km from Lhasa.

The chief policeman at the airport, Wang, is reported to still be trying to seize individual tourists and hold them under effective arrest at the airport hotel unless they pay to join a group, according to detailed reports. Several westerners were detained under his orders in September.

Since June 1989 tourists have been officially allowed into Tibet in groups, although in the summer of 1990 some individuals managed to reach the capital and were allowed by local city police to remain.

No tourists have been able to get individual visas or permits to enter Tibet from Kathmandu, and are all obliged to enter in groups, although a "group" can consist of only one person. Groups are accompanied by a guide, have a fixed itinerary, and are obliged to stay at certain hotels. Rates average around US \$100 per day.

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## **CONTROLS CONTINUE**

### **China Orders Travel Restrictions on Tibetans**

TIN News Update/February 13, 1991

The Chinese Government authorised an official campaign to prevent Tibetan Buddhists from attending an important religious ceremony in India, according to an official document leaked from Tibet. The document gives details of attempts by the Chinese authorities to stop Tibetans travelling for religious purposes to India via Nepal last autumn.

Extra restrictions had been imposed from at least September 1990 in order to prevent Tibetans travelling to India. Several thousand Tibetans had been expected to try to reach India to attend an important Buddhist ceremony, known as the Kalachakra initiation, given by the Dalai Lama in Sarnath in late December.

One Tibetan in Lhasa said in late October that special restriction were imposed on all travel to border areas with effect from 27 September 1990. "Restrictions on travel both inside and abroad have been re-regulated. Special permits to go to border areas were normally issued if you could give a good reason, and if you could show an identity card or an introductory letter signed by an official. This has now been changed, and you have

to hold an official identity card to apply," said the Tibetan, who asked not to be named.

According to the Tibetan, neighbourhood meetings in September announced that no-one would be allowed to travel abroad "for the time being."

He referred to other regulations which have the effect that "ordinary people cannot think of going abroad".

### **Official orders ban pilgrimages**

Official regulations avoided an explicit ban on all travel to India or Nepal. But orders were issued to all local authorities implying that no Tibetans should be allowed to attend the December ceremony.

A copy of an internal administrative order on travel to India has been made available to TIN. The joint Party-Government order is entitled "Instruction on Doing Correctly The Work of Dissuading The Masses From leaving The Country". The document is dated 6th October 1990 and numbered "Lhasa City Party Order No.12 (1990)". It was only the 12th order issued by the Lhasa City Party Office in 1990.

The "Instruction" appears to be an order calling on all local authorities as a matter of urgency to discourage people from going to India to attend the Kalachakra ceremony. The text of the "Instruction", however, tells officials "to effectively dissuade" potential pilgrims. This indicates that the purpose and effect of the order was not to discourage people from attending the ceremony but was in fact a total ban on Tibetans attending the ceremony.

The order also added that "unauthorised exit" must be "strictly prevented".

The "Instruction" did not specify how its orders were to be implemented. Local authorities are ordered to begin "immediately researching and devising measures in accordance with local realities". This means that local authorities were encouraged to work out their own methods of "effectively dissuading" Tibetan Buddhists from making the pilgrimage.

The order is jointly issued by the Party and the Government, but appears to be a Party initiative. The local authorities are instructed to report back to the Party Committee in Lhasa.

The order is specifically concerned with those people who are leaving the country "to hear prayers". It does not suggest that any restrictions should be imposed on people wishing to travel for non-religious reasons. As such it is discriminatory in nature and probably contravenes international law.

Article 6(a) of the 'Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief', passed by the UN General Assembly in 1981, says that the right to freedom of religion includes the right "to worship or assemble in connection with a religion or belief". Article 3 of the Declaration condemns discrimination "on the grounds of religion or belief".

The Chinese Constitution grants "freedom" of religious belief, but does not refer to the right to freedom of religious belief. This implies that the freedom is issued at the discretion of the state. Accordingly, Chinese law allows only limited religious freedoms, or those which it calls "normal" religious activities.

#### **Guarantee letter required**

In late October a notice was placed outside the Foreign Affairs Office in Lhasa saying that those who wanted to apply for a passport to visit India or Nepal needed a written application from someone in India or Nepal to the respective Chinese Embassy giving a guarantee of financial support.

The notice was in Chinese. It was stamped with an official seal and dated 10th October 1990. An unofficial summary in Tibetan was attached.

One Tibetan in Lhasa said that he thought that this was the first time since 1987 that the authorities had said that such a document was necessary in order to apply for a passport. The Tibetan added that only nine Tibetans were known to have been able to produce

such letters, and would therefore be able to apply for permits.

#### **Extra Internal Restrictions**

A number of reports indicate that movement within Tibet was also restricted during the autumn. In particular restrictions were placed on monks or nuns who were suspected of political activity. The suspects, sent to live under police surveillance in their home villages from April 1990 onwards, were required to obtain special permission in order to leave the villages. Some said later that the restrictions were imposed partly to stop them from trying to leave the country.

One Tibetan in Lhasa reported in late October 1990 that a monk and a nun from Amdo and Lithang told him that they had been forbidden by the Chinese to leave their areas. Chinese officials had told them that the ban on travel out of the area was to prevent them trying to cross the borders to India or Nepal.

Another report said that a number of pilgrims on their way to Lhasa from Lithang were stopped at Chamdo and told they could not travel to Lhasa. Some are said to have evaded the ban by hitching lifts with truck drivers, probably from outside the town.

Over one thousand Tibetans did manage to cross the Tibet-Nepal border in order to attend the ceremony, which began on December 29th 1990. Almost all of them are believed to have crossed the border illegally. Many of them were said by informed sources in Kathmandu to have spent months travelling by circuitous routes to avoid detection.

Some were reported to have encountered severe harassment from Nepali border police, and 70 were illegally repatriated by the Nepalis in August and October, according to reports from monitoring organisations in Kathmandu.

#### **Text of Lhasa City Party Order No 12 (1990)**

[TIN Ref: Doc 5(RR), 1 page A5 printed in Chinese, dated 6th Oct 1990]

#### **TEXT:**

*Communist Party Lhasa City Committee Office  
Document:- City Party Office Issue 1990 no 12:  
City Government Office Issue 1990 no 54*

#### **INSTRUCTION ON DOING CORRECTLY THE WORK OF DISSUADING THE MASSES FROM LEAVING THE COUNTRY**

*To all counties (municipal districts) committees, People's Governments, Units directly under the City Government:*

*The Dalai clique will hold on Dec 29th this year the Time-wheel [Kalachakra] ceremony in India.*

*Recently a relatively high number of the masses have left the country without authorisation [lit. privately] and this is an increasing trend. In the light of this the City Committee and the City Government are requesting all county (and municipal district) committees and People's Governments to be highly*

*alert and to take the task of dissuading the masses from leaving the country to hear prayers as an important one in the maintenance of the stability of the situation. [The City Committee and City Government also request the aforementioned units] to effectively dissuade the masses from leaving the country and strictly prevent illegal and unauthorised exit from the country. All counties, (municipal districts), and People's Governments should, after receiving this instruction, implement it by immediately researching and devising measures in accordance with local realities, and should report back in a timely manner on the relevant circumstances to the Municipal Committee Office.*

*Lhasa Communist Party Committee Office [one stamp over this]*

*Lhasa City People's Government Office [one stamp over this]  
Lhasa City Oct 6th 1990.*

### **Reported Demonstration in Lhasa - 10 Arrests**

TIN News Update / February 16, 1991

A police station was attacked in an incident in January and 6 monks were arrested, according to an unconfirmed report distributed by the leading Japanese News Agency. The incident followed a demonstration in the city on December 28th, during which four monks were arrested.

The Japanese Press Agency Kyodo quoted a Western source who had recently visited Lhasa as saying that on 1st January 1991 a Public Security Bureau in the centre of Lhasa was attacked by about 30 Tibetan monks. Six of them were arrested, according to the report.

The Western source also said there was a demonstration in Lhasa on 28th December. The demonstrators carried the forbidden Tibetan flag. After the demonstration 4 lamas were arrested, said the news agency.

The Japanese Press Agency said since the lifting of martial law in May last year the Beijing authorities have imposed stricter restrictions on news reports of unrest from Lhasa. The report also said that this report by Kyodo is the first report for a long time of unrest in Tibet. The situation remains tense in Tibet.

### **Sub-police Stations to be strengthened**

On the same day that the alleged "attack" took place on a police station, Xizang Ribao (Tibet Daily), the official Party newspaper in Tibet, reported that the organisation of police stations is to be urgently improved.

The Lhasa police had decided on 24th December "to strengthen the construction of the police substations [paicusuo]. The term "construction" appeared to refer to "organisational construction" as well as to the physical security of the buildings and personnel.

The local Public Security Bureau also called for help from the Party and the local Government "to strengthen the work of the Security Guarding Society [zhi bao

hui]...and to strengthen the construction of the 'specially assigned personnel'[te pai yuan] and strengthening the professional construction of the security of the basic units".

The tone and insistence of the report on the police "working meeting" suggests that Lhasa police wanted to consolidate the sub-police stations as a matter of urgency. "It must be sufficiently realized that the strengthening of the security of the basic units is necessary for sticking to the people's democratic dictatorship and carrying out the anti-splittist struggle in a profound and persistent way", said the report.

"The struggle between the splittists and the anti-splittists is long and complicated. If there is no stable base for the security of the basic units, there will be no stable control of the struggle, let alone of the long-term security of Lhasa", it continued.

Officials announced in late October last year that "stability" had been achieved in Lhasa.

### **Reported incident in Shalu**

A separate unconfirmed report notes that a number of monks are said to have staged a demonstrations in Shalu near Shigatse. The incident is said to have taken place in Aug-Sept 90. Two monks were arrested and have been locked in Shigatse jail since then, according to the report from a source on Lhasa.

There are unconfirmed reports of incidents in Lhasa in late January 1991. No details are available.

### **Police Activity Continues**

Security forces in Lhasa continued to stage patrols even after the 'alert period' finished on 15th October. The previous month had seen intense police activity in an effort to prevent demonstrations by Tibetans around China's National Day on 1st October.

According to one eyewitness report, on 27th October at about 10.45 am. the People's Armed Police patrolled in the Barkor and around the old city. There were fourteen men armed with electric probes and led by an officer who had radio equipment.

The next day a similar troop, also radio-equipped, patrolled around the Barkor.

### **Exile Tibetan Journal in Tibet: "Pornography"**

A pro-independence magazine, published by exile Tibetans in New York, has been circulating inside Tibet, according to the authorities in Lhasa.

At a conference on 'The Struggle Against Pornography' in Lhasa on 20th December 1990, Gyatso, vice-chairman of the Regional Government, discussed the continuing problem of both prostitution and of the "intense" spread of "pornographic materials" in Tibet.



Gyatso appeared to find no distinction between pornography - clearly defined in Chinese law as material relating to sexual obscenity - and dissident political literature and propaganda.

"A large portion of pornographic material is being brought into Tibet from other parts of China or abroad. Reactionary publications such as "Tibet Tribune", published by the Dalai clique, are being circulated in some localities in Tibet", said the vice-Chairman, who then went on to talk about the prevalence of prostitution and gambling in Lhasa and "other cities and towns".

"The market is full of reactionary propaganda materials," said the official, according to a report on Tibet TV on 21 December [SWB 31 Dec 1990]. He added that "pornography, drugs and other vices are rampant, and society is neither tranquil nor peaceful".

Recent statements have described Tibet as "stable".

The magazine referred to by Gyatso is known in English as 'Tibet Forum' and in Chinese as 'Xizang Lutang'. It is printed in Chinese and Tibetan. It is the only journal presenting the Tibetan point of view in the Chinese language.

The journal is of unique importance because it is produced by two Tibetans who were educated in Lhasa and Beijing, and who only left Tibet in the last six years - and one of the editors is the son of a high ranking Tibetan official in Tibet, Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, member of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in Beijing.

### **Allegations of Harassment by Soldiers**

A number of reports are circulating in Tibet alleging lack of discipline amongst troops stationed in Tibet.

According to a detailed account of an incident in late September 1990, 10 soldiers boarded a bus at a village called Kuru-Sampa near Lhasa and beat up most of the passengers.

The incident followed the refusal of two soldiers who had travelled on the bus from Tsel-Gung-Thang to pay 2 yuan in fares to the conductor of the bus, on its way from Taktse Dzong to Lhasa. The conductor is said to have been severely beaten by other soldiers when he went into their army camp to ask for the money.

A Tibetan who was on the bus said that after the beating the conductor was left bleeding from his mouth and was unable to stand up. A number of shots were heard after another Tibetan left the bus in order to intervene. The two Tibetans had not returned an hour later when the remaining passengers gave up waiting and walked on to the next town, according to the witness.

### **Tibetan pilgrim killed at Sera**

In another alleged incident, a Tibetan is reported to have been killed unintentionally by soldiers who were on guard duty at Sera Monastery, near Lhasa. The incident,

said to have taken place in the second week of October 1990, involved two soldiers, one Tibetan and one Chinese soldier.

The Chinese soldier is said to have fired a pistol, apparently for fun. The bullet killed a Tibetan pilgrim from Kham. The pilgrim was in his 50s, according to the report. The report, which is unconfirmed, said the two PLA men had been "busy drinking".

### **Border Harassment**

A series of allegations have been made about the behaviour of the People's Armed Police in Drangmo, the main border-crossing town for Tibetans trying to reach Nepal.

Some Tibetans have claimed that police in Drangmu, called Zhangmu by the Chinese, have harassed Tibetan travellers, particularly women. The reports allege that police have taken belongings from travellers hoping to cross the borders. These reports are unconfirmed.

There are some allegations that soldiers have extorted small amounts of money from Tibetans. According to an eyewitness account received from Tibet, soldiers are still stationed at checkpoints on the perimeters of the capital. The Chinese Government had claimed that the PLA had withdrawn from the city when martial law was lifted in Lhasa on May 1990.

The account gives details of fines imposed on the spot on Tibetans who fail to dismount from their bicycles at the checkpoint. In one incident in late October 1990 four soldiers who were on duty at the South Gate of Lhasa demanded five yuan from two Tibetans who were riding bicycles.

The Tibetans involved say that the soldiers refused to give them a receipt for the fine. "After handing over the money, one of them said to us, you better move, so we had no choice, we had to move", said one of the Tibetans, describing the soldiers as "robbers".

### **Military Recruiting in Lhasa**

The Chinese army are making a concerted effort to prevent nationalist sympathisers and Buddhists from joining the armed forces.

The military authorities have toughened entrance requirements for Tibetans, in line with a much-publicised policy throughout China to "ensure the quality of recruits". In Tibet, quality means not ability but political compliance, according to details given in Tibet Daily.

Mao Haiqing, the Chief of Staff of the Tibet Military District and deputy head of the leading group of the recruiting team in the Tibet Region announced that his teams would "adopt forceful methods to do propaganda education and political investigation well, in order to secure the quality of the new soldiers", according to the Chinese language edition of Tibet Daily on 28 October 1990.



"Never let those people who have supported, sympathized or participated in the Lhasa disturbances and the uprising in Beijing and who are resentful of the Chinese party and the socialist systems to be recruited", said the announcement.

It added that "no youth who believed in religion will be recruited".

Military recruiting began in Lhasa on 12th November, "attracting large numbers of youths", according to a report on Tibet TV the next day. It will last until November 30th., according to a report by Tibet Daily on 20 October.

It is part of an annual effort to persuade youths aged 17 to 21 to join the armed forces.

In Tibet military authorities warned of "unhealthy practices and ordered drafters to "refrain from abusing their power to seek personal gains" and to "conscientiously observe party discipline and state laws" [SWB 7 Nov 1990 B2/9; Tibet Daily 12 Oct 1990]. These practices included accepting bribes, recruiting unqualified people, and enlisting more conscripts than required, according to the newspaper.

One of these practices involved preferential treatment for the children whose fathers were cadres or workers in military units, according to Tibet Daily, and on 8th November a special meeting was held in Lhasa to counter this tendency. A senior official said the number of new soldiers to be recruited should be made public in advance in order to avoid this practice, according to a television report the same day.

According to Tibetan sources in Lhasa, the "unhealthy practices" referred to in the article may involve the children of army personnel getting well-paid non-combat positions in the armed forces.

Mao Haiqing called for people to be encouraged "to send their fine children to the army".

Recruitment for the Armed Forces was popular in Lhasa in the early 1980s, when there was a great shortage of employment in the city. Army wages are low but all armed forces personnel are guaranteed civilian work of some sort when they finish their tour of duty, usually after 5 or 7 years, according to Tibetan sources.

In the last three or four years fewer Tibetans have volunteered to join the armed forces, apparently preferring to seek work opportunities elsewhere.

This year the winter conscription drive in China and Tibet was shifted from its usual spring date to early winter. The authorities said the change was "to facilitate the scheduling of local production work", but some observers suggested this was to allow the

Military to get two opportunities in the same year to recruit for the armed forces.

## Housing and Possessions Survey in Lhasa

The authorities are conducting a survey of family possessions in Lhasa, according to a report from the Tibetan capital.

One source said that the survey, begun in September 1990, was carried out in his compound in the last week of October 1990. He said that the purpose of the survey was to show the increase in material possessions, technology and recreational resources enjoyed by Tibetans.

Families are asked to supply details of their members' age, work, and education. They then say whether they own a bicycle, motor cycle, television, radio, and so on.

The purpose of the survey is unclear, since these questions were already raised during the national census, undertaken in July 1990.

The survey also asked the sizes of rooms and whether "housing policy had been obtained", according to the source. This suggests that the real purpose of the survey may have been to assess the impact of the radical demolition and reconstruction programme now underway in the Tibetan quarters of Lhasa (see TIN Housing Supplement, 9 Nov 1990).

The survey may be a response to growing publicity abroad about Chinese demolition of the old city of Lhasa. The South China Morning Post published a major feature article criticising the programme in December 1990.

The Chinese are sensitive to international criticism and international concern about unpublicised renovations of the Potala later led to publication by the Chinese of some of their work plans there.

Surveys have been sensitive issues in Tibet, and have sometimes been used for political purposes. In the late 1950s a survey of personal and family possessions was conducted shortly before the imposition of the democratic reforms. Tibetans were told that the purpose was to document increased prosperity, but in the event the information was used to enable the state to repossession private property.

A survey in 1988, conducted under the guidance of sociologists from the US universities of Brown and Michigan specifically asked Lhasa residents to state their position on independence. This invited Tibetans to incriminate themselves, and was regarded by some scholars as a breach of academic ethics.

## ARRESTS

### Prisoner Dies from Torture, say Refugees

TIN News Update / January 9, 1991

A political prisoner has been tortured to death in a prison in Tibet, according to Tibetans who arrived in Northern India in the last two weeks.

The body of 20 year old Lhakpa Tsering is said to have been handed over to his family in Lhasa on 16th December 1990. Lhakpa Tsering had been in prison since his detention on 4th November 1989 for putting up pro-independence posters.

According to a report released today by the Tibetan Government-in-Exile, which is based in Northern India, Lhakpa Tsering was tortured or beaten to death on 15th December 1990 at Drapchi Prison, 3 km north of Lhasa.

Late this evening the human rights organisation Amnesty International called for a full-scale enquiry to be held into the death "by an independent, impartial and competent body". It issued a statement expressing concern that results of a post-mortem had not been made public, and described Lhakpa Tsering as a prisoner "believed to have been arrested solely for the peaceful exercise of conscientiously held beliefs".

According to unnamed Tibetan refugees quoted in the exiled Government's report, the prisoner died shortly after a meeting at which inmates were told not to make dissident statements during an expected visit by Western journalists. Lhakpa Tsering had announced that he would tell any visitors that he supported independence for Tibet, according to the report.

Lhakpa Tsering's family are said to have demanded an inquest, and the authorities are described as having appointed a Tibetan doctor and an official from the People's Procuratorate (China's official Prosecution Service) to conduct a post mortem. Their findings have not been published, but the refugee sources claim that the body was seen to "bear many bruise marks".

The sources said that other inmates in Drapchi prison had heard Lhakpa Tsering being beaten in his cell, and had described him crying out that he was going to be killed.

Fellow prisoners at Drapchi are said to have staged a sympathy protest after the death. The report describes them as tearing up the dead prisoner's quilt and distributing them to other inmates as symbolic flags in protest against the murder.

### Deaths in Lhasa Prisons

Drapchi Prison is not usually associated with extreme cases of torture, although these have frequently been reported from two nearby detention centres, Gutsa and Sangyip. At least two political prisoners, 25 year old Yeshe and Choesed Tenpa Choephel, died within a few days of their release from prison in August 1989, apparently as a result of prison beatings.

Since July 1989, when a Chinese journalist from Hong Kong was allowed to visit the prison, Drapchi has been prepared as a model prison. In October 1990 a US State Department official was taken round the jail, the first known foreign visit. In mid-November last year China broke all precedents by allowing a group of Scandinavian diplomats to speak with a leading political prisoner at the prison.

Lhakpa Tsering was held at Gutsa for some months after his detention in November 1989 and had not been heard of since. He is not known to have been tried or sentenced, although charges were announced against him in a Radio Lhasa broadcast on 8th December 1989. Then an 18 year-old schoolboy, he was one of six pupils at Lhasa Middle School No.1 arrested for having formed a "counter-revolutionary" organisation in the beginning of March that year.

The police said the students had put up pro-independence posters in the streets of the city, as well as in their school. They had also made copies of the forbidden Tibetan flag.

The group was variously named in official radio and television broadcasts in Lhasa as "the Mountain Ranges Youth Association" or "the Snow Lion Youth Association". Police said that the group had "slandered the Communist Party and the socialist system" as well as threatening the unity of the motherland.

Lhakpa Tsering, named by the authorities in 1989 as Lhakpa Tsering Senior, was reputed to be the leader of the group, which included a 14 year old boy of the same name, known as Lhakpa Tsering Middle, currently serving a two-year sentence at Drapchi prison. A third member of the group, Migmar Tsering, now aged 18 or 19, is believed to be serving an 18 month sentence at Drapchi. The whereabouts of the other pupils is unknown.

Over 1,000 Tibetans have crossed the Himalayas without passports in the last four months, evading Chinese border guards and an almost total ban on foreign travel by the Chinese. They came to attend a major religious ceremony performed by the Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama, in Sarnath, Northern India. The ceremony began on December 29th.

In March 1990 the Chinese authorities in Beijing admitted, following heavy questioning at a session of the UN Committee on Torture in Geneva, that a number of people had died as a result of torture and ill-treatment in Chinese-run prisons, but did not give precise figures.

The Tibetan Government in Exile issued a statement from New Delhi today condemning the Chinese authorities for "the use of torture and other forms of ill-treatment in their prisons in Tibet". The exile Government has called on the Chinese to give a detailed explanation of the death of Lhakpa Tsering.

## **More Tibetans accused of Involvement with Foreigners**

Two Tibetans were detained by police in Lhasa for alleged political activities, according to several reports from the Tibetan capital.

According to some reports, the two Tibetans have been accused by police of involvement with foreigners who were trying to find out information about conditions with Tibet. The allegations of involvement with foreigners are unconfirmed.

A Tibetan named Gelek was arrested on 9th August 1990, according to one detailed report. Gelek is a tailor from Lhasa, married with two children, one aged 9 years and the other 7 years.

According a close associate in Lhasa he was tortured by the Chinese during preliminary interrogations and was forced to name another person as his accomplice.

As a result police arrested a Tibetan nun the next day. The nun, named as Sonam Dolkar, known as Ani (or 'Nun') Sonam Dolkar. Although a nun, she was not living in a nunnery but was looking after her elderly parents and her child. Since her arrest there has been no-one left to look after her parents or the child, said the report.

## **Tibetan Trader Arrested for Distributing Prayer**

A Tibetan trader has been arrested for distributing copies of a forbidden Buddhist prayer.

42 year old Lobsang Tsering was arrested on or shortly before 19th October 1990 at the home of a friend in Gyantse, 250 km south west of Lhasa.

According to Tibetans who crossed into India in December, Public Security Officials searched Lobsang Tsering's house in Lhasa, where he had been living since 1978. The police are said to have found incriminating papers in his house.

Lobsang Tenzin is believed to have been suspected of distributing copies of the Tentsik Monlam, a forbidden Buddhist prayer.

Lobsang Tsering, who sells items used in religious rituals in monasteries, is reported to have been accused of having distributed photocopies of the prayer to 800 monks in Kantse Monastery in the former province of Kham, now in the Chinese province of Sichuan.

Four other men are said by the Information Office of the Tibetan Government-in-Exile to have been arrested in Kantse (Garze) in connection with the distribution of these prayers. Their names were given by the sources as Namgyal, aged 53, Thubten, age 32, Tenzin Gyatso, age 26, and Palden Tsering, age 32. In a related case a fifth man, Bu-Truk, age 42, is said to have been arrested in Lhasa and taken to Kantse for detention.

The 'Tentsik Monlam', or 'Prayer of Truth', also known as the 'Tseme Yonten', has been banned in

Tibet since at least 1989. Although it is a Buddhist prayer, it prays for the restoration of freedom in Tibet and recalls the suffering of those died in the name of freedom.

It was composed by the Dalai Lama shortly after he fled into exile in 1959 and has always been a source of embarrassment for the Chinese authorities, who since 1980 have not wanted to be seen to be interfering in religious practices. The second of the Dalai Lama's Delegations to Tibet reported in 1980 that many Tibetans knew the words of the banned prayer by heart, probably from broadcasts on the Tibetan service of All-India Radio.

## **Woman Arrested March 1989 Still Missing**

A Tibetan woman, arrested in 1989, is reported to be still missing nearly two years later.

The missing woman is Lhamo, a resident of the Barkor Gaden Shar area of Lhasa. She is the daughter of Ama Drolkar, who comes from Kham. Lhamo is a married woman in her 40s.

She was arrested after the declaration of martial law in Lhasa on 8th March 1989. Her family have heard no news of her since her arrest, according to a reliable source in the capital. Although there are many cases of lengthy delays before the Chinese inform families that their relatives have been detained, the lack of information in this case has led to grave concerns about the safety of the prisoner.

## **Nun imprisoned for Protest against Arrests**

A Tibetan nun is reported to be still held in prison for complaining about the arrest of two other women from her nunnery.

Kunsang, 25, a nun at Tsangkhung nunnery in Lhasa, was jailed in March 1990 after she was identified as the writer of an anonymous leaflet criticising the imprisonment of two colleagues. The leaflet, which also called for Tibetan independence, was discovered by Ledun Rukhak officials.

Cadres from the Ledun Rukhak, or Work Team, had been stationed at the Nunnery for the previous four months in order to conduct daily sessions of "political re-education". At the meetings "Chinese publications, magazines and newspapers were read out and were subject to full discussion," according to a detailed report issued by the Exile Government's Office of Information last month. The Dalai Lama was condemned at each session, and independence was described as a return to feudalism.

The officials were able to identify Kunsang as the author of the leaflet from her handwriting, according to reports from other nuns.

The 6 member-Work Team had arranged for two nuns, 18 year-old Namdrol Tenzin and 27 year-old Jampa Drolkar, to be arrested in December 1989. The nuns had ignored warnings and failed to reform their attitudes

during re-education sessions. Both nuns were already under suspicion for burning incense and throwing flour in the air in October 1989 during celebrations of the award of the Nobel Peace Prize to the Dalai Lama.

Namdrol Tenzin, who recently escaped to India after being held in prison for 5 months, reported that Kunsang was still in Gutsa prison in October 1990. She claimed that Kunsang had been tortured whilst in prison and had become mentally unstable as a result. According to Namdrol Tenzin, Kunsang was tied in contorted positions and choked whilst in prison, and was also slashed with a knife.

### **Amdo Tibetans arrested for Leaflet Distribution**

Two Tibetans from the eastern Tibetan of Amdo have been arrested for distributing pro-independence leaflets, according to a report received from Lhasa.

One man, known as Amdo Choego [Chos.go] was arrested near the Muslim temple in Lhasa, and a second man, whose name was given by the Lhasans as Amdowa Dorje, was arrested around the same time in Chengdu.

Chengdu is several hundred miles east of Lhasa, and is capital of the Chinese province of Sichuan. The operation suggests extensive communications and surveillance co-operation between police forces in China and Tibet. According to the report, both arrests were conducted by officers of the Ngaba public security bureau.

The two men were severely beaten by police, according to the report, and are now said to be held in prison in Ngaba.

Several Tibetans were jailed for distributing pro-independence leaflets in Amdo last year. According to a report just received from Labrang, in what is now called Xiahe in Gansu Province, three monks were arrested in early March 1990 after handing out leaflets calling for Tibetan independence.

The monks, named in Chinese as Cheng Lai, Luosang Gengdeng and Sang ji, probably Trinley, Lobsang Kalden, and Sangye in western transliteration, are from Tashi Kyil Monastery in Xiahe. All three have since been released, and one, according to the report from Xiahe, has since "escaped" to India.

Trinley (Cheng Lai) was held for six months and the other two were detained for three months, according to the report. The leaflet-writers "cared about the fate of the Tibetan people and made a great contribution and wrote a glorious page in history. Today is tomorrow's history", said the report.

The source in Xiahe also claimed that there had been "a great student demonstration in the beginning of April" in Gannan, the Chinese name for the prefecture in southern Gansu in which Xiahe is situated. Slogans included demands that the whole of the prefecture be allowed to use Tibetan language, claimed the report, which is unconfirmed.

### **Schoolgirl arrested for having a Tibetan flag**

A 19-year old school student has been arrested for giving a Tibetan flag to a monk, according to reports from Lhasa in November.

Dawa Kyizom was arrested from her home in Thupung Gang [Thas.spung sGang], Eastern Lhasa, at about 9.30 a.m. on 26th October 1990. According to sources in Lhasa, she was arrested by officials of the State Security Ministry, known in Chinese as the An Quan Ting and in Tibetan as the Sangwi Lekhung [gSang.b'i.les.Khungsl].

She was detained after Tsering Dorje, a monk at Gyurme Monastic College in Lhasa, hoisted the forbidden Tibetan national flag from the roof of his monastery on 1st October 1990.

Tsering Dorje, whose monastic name is not known, was arrested after police found a flag in his room. In mid-October Tibetan sources in Lhasa said that the monk had confessed to hoisting the flag, but had insisted that he did it on his own.

In early November the same sources reported that Dawa Kyizom had confessed under police interrogation that she had given the monk the flag. She is said to have told them that she was given the flag by a monk from Drepung monastery who was leaving for India.

According to the reports from Lhasa, received in mid-November, Dawa was kept in the local Public Security Bureau until the 31st October 1990. It is not known where she was then taken.

Dawa Kyizom [zla.ba.sKyid.'dZoms], whose father is called Shidam, is a student at Lhasa Middle School No.1. Her mother's name is Samten Wangmo.

### **Chinese Figures for Political Prisoners**

109 Tibetans prisoners have been sentenced because of serious crimes committed during the three demonstrations of October 1987, March 1988, and March 1989.

The information was given by the President of Tibet's Higher Court, Zi Cheng, in an interview with the journal 'Shijie Zhishi' on 1st January 1991. No figures were given for those arrested during other demonstrations or for other political activities. Most of those detained had been released after "being educated and after they themselves admitted their guilt", he said, describing the authorities' attitude to political offenders as "magnanimous".

In November 1990 Nordic Ambassadors visiting Lhasa were told that there were 119 political prisoners who had been sentenced and were still in custody either in Drapchi Prison or in reform-through-labour camps.

### **Confusion over Arrest Figures**

A report in Tibet Daily (Chinese Language Version) on 17th December gave some detail of the number of



Tibetan who had been charged with political offences in 1990. It did not give figures for the numbers detained or the numbers who had received trials.

The article reported that the procuracy, as China's prosecution agency is known, had "approved the arrest" of "seven main crack-down targets and 242 counter revolutionary offenders" during the first ten months of 1990, according to the translation provided by the BBC's Summary of World Broadcasts on 12 February 1991.

The figures covered all of the Tibet Autonomous Region, but it was not clear if the seven main targets were also arrested for political offences. The counter revolutionary cases represented just over 75% of the total number of arrests approved in the region in 1990, according to the article.

Other figures in the same article said that 24 counter-revolutionaries had been "examined and approved", but it was not clear whether these were additional cases.

Observers were confused about the exact meanings of the terms and figures used. The Taiwan-based "World Journal" on December 31st thought that the 242 cases had been "arrested and disposed". But it did not explain what was meant by the term "dispose". It thought that the figure of 242 included ordinary criminal cases as well as political cases.

If the 242 cases were all counter-revolutionary cases, it would represent a huge increase in published data on political arrests in Tibet. There were no major demonstrations in Tibet in 1990, and the figure even in 1989 the Chinese authorities only admitted to detaining 400 Tibetans after a series of major disturbances.

The Chinese authorities do not usually provide clear breakdown of categories when they give out sensitive statistics for arrests or sentences. It is not usually possible to tell how many people were tried or executed for political rather than economic or criminal offences. It is uncharacteristic of them to release a large and contentious figure for counter-revolutionary offences, and they are more likely to have included other categories in the total figure.

### **Tibet Procuratorate Report**

On 8th June 1990 the annual report of the Tibet Regional Procuratorate, presented to the regional People's Congress on 26 May 1990, was printed in the Chinese Language version of the Tibet Daily.

In the previous year 488 "reactionaries and criminals" were arrested, of whom 355 were indicted. According to Yang Youcai, director of the Procuratorate, this was a 26.1% increase on the number of criminals arrested the previous year. It was, he said, the highest number of criminal cases processed since the anti-crime campaign of 1983.

Yang Youcai, who is also a director of the Higher People's Court in Tibet, emphasised that not all police submissions were accepted, pointing out that in 1989 34 cases were returned to the public security authorities. The Procuratorate "strictly distinguished the

criminal from the innocent, stressed evidence, stressed examination and investigation, and did not believe only in oral statements". As a result it had refused to arrest 43 people involved in these cases.

No indications were given in the report as to how many cases involved political prisoners.

### **European Ambassadors meet Tibetan Prisoner**

TIN News Update / 18 Nov 1990

For the first time in recent history the Chinese authorities have allowed Westerners to meet a leading political prisoner in jail.

The Ambassadors of the 4 Nordic countries, on a mission to Tibet which finished on Friday, were taken to Drapchi prison in Lhasa to meet Yulu Dawa Tsering, the leading political prisoner in Tibet, according to a report issued by Reuters from Beijing today.

Ambassador Holvik of Norway, who led the mission of Beijing-based Ambassadors from Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland, told Reuters that Yulu seemed to be in "fairly good health", and that he was able to walk across the courtyard to meet them.

Yulu, 61, was detained in December 1987 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment for discussing Tibetan independence and "viciously vilifying the policies adopted by the Chinese Communist Party and the people's government" in a private conversation with two foreign tourists in July 1987, according to an official statement on Radio Lhasa in March 1988.

Yulu, recognised by Tibetans as a 'tulku' or incarnate lama, was the first Tibetan to be formally convicted of a political crime since the resurgence of pro-independence demonstrations in September 1987. He was a lecturer in philosophy at the University of Tibet, and a former abbot of Ganden Monastery.

Until he was stripped of his positions in September 1989, he was a member of the Tibetan branches of the Political Consultative Committee and the Chinese Buddhist Association.

### **Ambassadors meet Top Officials**

The Ambassadors were also the first known foreign officials to meet Gyaltzen Norbu, the new Governor of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, appointed in May this year. They are reported to have asked for more humane treatment of prisoners and raised concerns expressed by Amnesty International with the Governor.

The team also met the Governor of Drapchi Prison, and reported that he indicated possible implementation of a request that political prisoners be kept separately from other inmates.

In another unusual revelation, officials told the Ambassadors that there were 63 political prisoners in labour reform camps in Tibet, and 56 in Drapchi, according to Reuters. The number of prisoners in Drapchi is almost identical to the list of 77 released by Tibet Information Network yesterday, which included at least 10 prisoners accused of crimes of violence during

demonstrations who are regarded by local Tibetans as political prisoners.

No information appears to have been given about detainees and those who are awaiting trial.

### Policy Shift

The Ambassadors' visit to the prison indicates the culmination of a major shift by the Chinese towards alleged human rights abuses in Tibet. Last month, in an unpublished visit, a US State Department official became the first Westerner known to have visited Drapchi, but he did not meet any of the inmates or release details about his trip. Other sources indicated at the time that China was about to change its policy on the admission of western observers to Tibet.

In what may have been part of a slow preparation of Drapchi as a showcase prison, a Chinese journalist was taken there in July 1989. The journalist, from the pro-China Hong Kong journal *Ta Kung Po*, was taken around a Lhasa prison, almost certainly Drapchi, where, he wrote, the political management of the prison had been perfected.

He described the prisoners' "enthusiastic" participation in vegetable gardening, their ability to sew buttons on their own clothes, and their annual exchange of greetings with prison officers at New Year, which showed that "both parties share each other's feelings."

In reports received from Lhasa in October, Tibetans said that torture is not now being carried out at Drapchi prison, Lhasa's main prison, reserved mainly for prisoners who have been sentenced. But they have expressed concern about the treatment of detainees at local police stations and detention centres, including those at Gutsa and Sangyip institutions near Lhasa.

Tibetans in Lhasa attribute the change in policy to international pressure, according to reports from the capital. They say that prisoner Lobsang Tenzin, due to be executed in January 1991 for the alleged murder of a policeman during a demonstration in 1988 if he does not 'reform', is still held in chains and is in poor health.

### Restrictions on Expelled Monks and Nuns

Nuns and monks expelled from their monasteries or convents by the Chinese authorities were not allowed to practice religion in public or to leave their home villages for more than two weeks, according to reports from refugees arriving in Northern India.

Over 300 monks and nuns are believed to have been expelled from religious institutions near Lhasa just before martial law was lifted in May 1990. All were expelled apparently on suspicion of having nationalist sympathies. The expulsions came after Party officials had spent several months conducting political re-education and assessment sessions in the monasteries.

One monk, expelled from Ganden Monastery in April 1990 for suspected political activities has said he was not allowed to leave his home for more than a week. The monk, whose name has been withheld to protect relatives, has since escaped to India, where he has

given a detailed description of the expulsion procedures (see below).

A number of nuns who were amongst those expelled from Garu and Chubsang nunneries near Lhasa in April 1990 have also given details about the expulsion orders.

In interviews the nuns have said that they were told that they were not allowed to wear monastic robes or to keep their heads shaved. They were allowed to perform personal prayers and rituals in their own homes but were forbidden to perform religious rituals in other people's homes - a traditional way of earning income for monks and nuns.

They were obliged to do agricultural work and were not allowed to become traders or take up any other type of work.

Personal worship was allowed in their local village monastery, but only if they returned to their family home in the evenings. The nuns were banned from rejoining their former nunneries or any other nunnery.

Travel beyond their villages was allowed only with the permission of the local government representative, and this travel permit could only be granted for a maximum of 15 days. One of the nuns who escaped said she had persuaded local officials to allow her to go to Lhasa for a week by telling them she needed medical treatment for an illness.

Nuns from Garu who were returned to their homes in Phenpo, about 60 kilometres north east of Lhasa, were warned that if they were found "moving on the streets" they would be fined 10 yuan (about US\$2, 1-2 day's wage). If they were discovered to be staying at their families' homes without working, the fine would be 5 yuan.

In some cases nuns considered less culpable have been permitted to join small monasteries in their local villages. For example, of the 80 nuns expelled from Chupsang in December 1989, 30 were branded as particularly dangerous and were directed to follow all the above restrictions. The remaining 50, who were apparently less culpable, were told they could join small monasteries in their local villages.

### Full text of report on expulsion of Ganden monks [TIN Ref Doc 11(NH)], dated 13 November 1990]

#### TEXT:

*"A brief report on the expulsion of monks from Ganden Monastery by the Red Chinese on the 18th day of the second month of the Tibetan calendar, 1990 (13th April 1990)."*

*On 2nd October 1989 officials arrived at the monastery. The main leader of the group was Hu Chu Trang [Hu Ju Zhang?], whose real name is Hu Nyag, the man principally responsible for the destruction of monasteries in 1959. With him were Tenzin, the leader of Taktse Shen [township], and members of the High Court of the TAR [Tibet*

Autonomous Region] led by Phuntsok. In all I think there were 34 people.

At that time security personnel were stationed around the monastery to enforce [martial] law. There were 14 tents, each accommodating about 18 soldiers. The visiting officials chose to stay in the [?brgyud khang] building, following their own inclinations. After a few days they convened a meeting of all the monks. This is what they said to the assembled people:

"The main reason why we are here is because the monastery has allowed the growth of deep splittist roots, who protect the decadent past [rul srung kha phral kyi rtsaba shugs chel]. Therefore the Central Government, in accordance with the orders of the TAR authorities [krung dbyang srid gzhang dang rang skyong ljongs gi bka' lta], has sent us here to carry out a political screening exercise [chab srid gtsang gsher gi las 'gull].

"There are four main points to be announced here. Our screening exercise will be to weed out those who have been engaged in splittist and anti-patriotic activities like putting up reactionary posters over the past few years.

"Firstly, category one cases will be apprehended and handed over to the Lhasa People's Court. Secondly, category two cases: these will be handed over to the County People's Court [shan mimangs khrim khang]. Category three cases will be expelled from the monastery to do physical labour in the countryside. Fourthly, those who declare their allegiance to the State will be allowed to remain in the monastery."

From that day onwards the cadres and the soldiers convened frequent meetings as well as individual interrogation sessions of the monks. They used force to persuade them to give up their struggle for the just and non-violent cause of Tibetan independence. The interrogations were conducted with pistols and handcuffs laid out on the table to intimidate the person being questioned.

In some cases, like that of Jamyang from Ganden, they punched them in the face during the interrogation. There were four teams conducting interrogations.

Severe restrictions were placed on movement in and out of the monastery. Members of the public who came to the monastery to make the traditional offerings of tea and gifts to the monks had to be reported first to the Chinese cadres. Likewise, any monk who wished to go home to renew his stock of tsampa or other provisions could not leave without authorisation from the head of the monastery. He had to obtain permission from the Chinese authorities first. If anybody left without their permission, soldiers were sent out to arrest them. This state of affairs continued till around the 18th of the second month of the Tibetan calendar [13th April 1990].

On the morning of the 18th at about 10 o'clock, two vehicles arrived from Lhasa. A truckfull of People's Armed Police was followed by a smaller vehicle bearing an official from the Religious [Affairs] Department who was of Chinese origin. His interpreter was Lodoe Gyaen, a Tibetan called Lamo Rinchen 'Od Zer. There was also a high ranking member of the People's Higher Court, and some other leaders.

There were also people from the townships [shan] who were there to take charge of the monks who were going to be expelled. The leader of the Meldo Gungkar Dzong [county], PSB [Public Security Bureau] officials, members of the Religious [Affairs] Department, and army personnel were also present, together with representatives from other townships as well.

We were then called in, two at a time.

We were taken into the top courtyard of the [?brgyud khang] building and surrounded by Public Security cadres so that we could not leave. We could see security guards posted on the hill tops all around the monastery. We were handed over to the respective county officials who took our thumb prints and photographs. Personal names and birthplaces were also recorded.

At the time an official from the Government of the TAR said, "Today, you are being expelled from the monastery. The reason for your expulsion will be explained to you by your respective township Public Security officials."

Besides this, we were told nothing about why we were being expelled. After that we were hurriedly bundled off into a large vehicle belonging to the township PSB and driven away to the main county town [name withheld]. The same happened with the monks from the other townships.

Our vehicle was preceded by a smaller vehicle belonging to the Armed Security Force [drag chas nyen rtoqs pa] and followed by a small PSB vehicle.

When we arrived, we were taken into a large house. There were many officials and soldiers waiting for us to arrive. They put us in the middle of them and began a meeting. The following is what the leader [slo t'o hru'u chis] said :

"Today you have been expelled from the monastery and handed over to us. The reasons for your expulsion are: taking part in demonstrations in Lhasa on several occasions, shouting reactionary slogans, indulging in various splittist activities, and failing to heed and obey the repeated advice and guidance of your superior authorities. That is why you have been expelled.

"Therefore, from now onwards:

- you are forbidden to enter any monastery,
- you are not allowed to practice religion,



- you are not to take any position of leadership over the people,

- your travel permit within the township will be restricted to only seven days.

"If you wish to go to Lhasa, you must first obtain permission from the office of the PSB; you are not even allowed to visit your own monastery. In short, you are not allowed to go back even to collect your bedding and your prayer books. Instead members of your family may be permitted to go [to collect them] after obtaining a letter of authorisation from the departmental office of the township PSB [shan thing]. In all other cases, free movement is restricted.

"During festivals you will be required to labour as directed. You are totally forbidden to go and join any untoward events."

After that the leading cadre of the township PSB said to us:

"You cannot kick the sky. What happened today is the fruit of your repeated actions. Today, you have been expelled and we are not responsible for that in any way. If you continue such activities in the future, you all understand, I hope, what kind of a person I am."

After that we were forced into smaller vehicles and taken off to be paraded around the township. Armed PSB guards with rifles at the ready pushed us in by our necks. When we arrived at [name withheld] Township, J., a PSB officer stationed there, the township leader and some other leaders were there. They handed us over to the local leaders, putting us in their charge. At the same time they handed over files with our criminal records, and they said that we were under their charge, and that they must keep a thorough watch on us." After saying that, they drew PSB official J. aside and talked to him. We had to give our thumb prints and our names.

I was then taken to [name withheld], my village, and up to the door of my home. I called out for my parents. There were many other locals there besides my parents. They all looked frightened and sad, because they thought that we were being taken to prison because the PSB guards were carrying their rifles over their uniforms. Nobody dared say anything.

A PSB officer took out a sheet of paper with Chinese characters on it and gave it to my mother. He made her print her thumb mark on it and made her write her name as well. She was warned, "We are handing him over to you today. From now on, if anything happens you will all be punished."

Then they took back the signed paper with the Chinese writings on it and left. Two of the local PSB officers went back to the Township again.

After I had been in my home for a while, some of the local villagers came to speak with me. They told

me not to worry, and said that although I had been expelled from the monastery it was for the sake of our nation. They apologised for the low standard of living in the village but said that they would do the best they could. Then they hugged me and started crying uncontrollably.

Some others said to me, "You monks and nuns should observe your vows strictly. The Chinese are hoping that you will gradually disrobe and become lay people."

Except for a few days I had to remain in my house from the 18th of the second month [13th April 1990] until the 18th of the seventh month [7th September 1990].

## Appeal

Therefore, those of us who are here [in Northern India] - those expelled from the monasteries, monks and nuns, lay people and recent arrivals - have the following appeal to make:

We fervently appeal to the leaders of international organizations for human rights. You know already the number of people killed and imprisoned in Tibet. But however small the number of Tibetans left, they are still being forced out. The Chinese claim untruthfully that Tibetans have returned [voluntarily from the monasteries] to their own homes. If we, the monks and nuns, had wanted to be at our homes instead of in our monasteries, there would have been no need for us to join the monasteries in the first place. There would have been no reason then to separate towns from monasteries.

We are now left with no rights. For example, if they are expecting us to make our living through farming, they must know that it goes against our vows as ordained monks, and thus is not in keeping with our cultural traditions. If, on the other hand, we are to go out seeking alms in keeping with our traditions, we cannot because they have forbidden us to visit other homes. Does all this not suggest not just that we are being expelled from the monasteries but that we are also being cut off from our own nation?

We place great hope in one thing. The Chinese have killed over a million out of the six million of our countrymen through murder, torture and so on. Now, if the remaining population of Tibet are regarded by the international human rights organisations as human beings with entitlement to human rights, we would ask you to declare that recognition now. If not, please declare the reasons for denying such recognition. As you know, Tibetans are already a minority compared to the Chinese and yet, if the Chinese are allowed to decimate us further through killings, imprisonment, and expulsion, then naturally these will lead to Tibetans becoming a tiny minority.

Some people harbour the impression that Tibetans dislike living in Tibet and leave the country because of this. This idea is incorrect. I, too, wished to remain in Tibet but was expelled against my will. Both my parents are Tibetans.



*What I have written above is an account of happenings that I have recorded first-hand. Because of my low level of education, I beg scholars to overlook my spelling mistakes and to correct them. Keeping these in mind, I implore everyone to support the just cause of us impoverished Tibetan children.*

*by [name withheld]*

*Monk of Ganden Monastery,  
Dated 13th November 1990.  
[Dharamsala, Northern India]*

## **Arrest Updates - What's in a Name?**

Chinese diplomats are facing serious problems with their spelling. Two more cases of known Tibetan prisoners have been declared non-existent because the Chinese can't spell their names.

China, which likes to claim a thousand year link with Tibetan culture, has still never managed to find a standard way to spell - or even pronounce - Tibetan. Most Chinese scholars end up having to use western systems of transliteration for Tibetan names.

The spelling problems pose some difficulties for claims that Tibetan language is related to Chinese. But they can be very helpful it comes to refuting allegations about the ill-treatment of Tibetan prisoners.

In January last year the Chinese delegation to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights denied that Tseten Norgye existed after the US Government and others raised his case. They told the UN that "the department concerned in China had conducted an investigation and found that no person by the name of Tseten Norgye was among the prisoners".

This year the Chinese delegation produced a photograph of Tseten Norgye and showed it during a plenary debate at the UN. They said the photograph proved that the recently non-existent prisoner was now healthy.

The Chinese were forced to acknowledge his existence by the Chinese Ambassador in the US, who had informed a US Senator that the former hotel bookkeeper was indeed held in a Lhasa prison.

China's UN delegation have now admitted to the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture that they had made a mistake the previous year, but it wasn't their fault. It was the fault of their transliteration department, who had turned the name Tseten Norgye into Danzeng Nuojie. This has now been sorted out. "Through the efforts of various quarters," says the Chinese Government's letter of explanation to the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, "it has been verified that Tseten Norgye is Cidan Luojie".

For good measure, the Chinese - who should be told that Tseten Norgye is also known in Lhasa, where he lives, as Tenzin Norgye - went on to add that in fact the mistake was not after even the fault of their transliteration department. In fact the spelling mistake was not the problem at all. The problem was the UN Special Rapporteur, who had told the Chinese that

Tseten Norgye was 45 years old. In fact, the Chinese said, he is 48 years old.

Besides, they added, the Rapporteur had told them that the prisoner was from Lhasa. But in fact he is from Shigatse, say the Chinese, explaining why it was the Rapporteur's fault that they could not find him. They failed to mention that Tseten Norgye may have been born or registered in Shigatse but has worked in Lhasa for years.

## **Ngawang Phulchung**

If Norgye is quite a difficult name for the Chinese to spell, Phulchung seems to be impossible. When the Nordic Ambassadors who visited Lhasa in November 1990 went looking for Ngawang Phulchung, another leading prisoner, the Chinese told them there was no such person in their jails.

In fact, we know that the Chinese sentenced Phulchung to 19 years imprisonment on 30th November 1989 for printing dissident literature (including a Tibetan translation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights). We know this because after sentencing him they broadcast his name all over the country in two long reports about the case on Radio Lhasa.

But it seems that the ambassadors got it wrong. They told the Chinese that the name of the prisoner was Ngawang Buchung. Technically, the name should be transliterated Phulchung, not Buchung. But the Ambassadors were using the simplified spelling used by Amnesty International and Asiawatch.

According to the Dutch Foreign Minister in a statement on 7th January 1991, the Nordic team were told by the Chinese that "a person with this name was not known to them".

Because they spelt the name wrong, the Ambassadors were not given any information about the prisoner, who has not been heard of since his arrest.

## **Tseten Norgye**

Tseten Norgye has been reported by several sources in Lhasa to be held in greatly improved conditions in prison in Lhasa, and he has been allowed to receive visits from his family. The first reports of improvement in his condition came in since June 1990.

Local sources have attributed the improvement to international pressure, which began in November 1989 and was taken up by various governments at the United Nations including the US. Torture in Tibetan and Chinese prisons usually takes places in the first weeks or months of detention, before charges are brought.

## **Agyal Tsering: 18 months**

Sources in Eastern Tibet have reported that Agyal Tsering, a monk arrested in early 1990 for distributing pro-independence leaflets, was given a trial in July 1990.

The sources say that he received an 18 month prison sentence. They give no information about his condition, or about how he has been treated in prison. The reports are unconfirmed.

## DIPLOMATIC SHIFTS

### Chinese Claim Italian Support for Tibet Take-over TIN News Update / February 19, 1991

A senior European diplomat in China has stated that Tibet is part of China, according to a report published in the Tibet Daily on 4 December 1990.

The report claimed that the Italian Ambassador to China made the remark during a discussion with the Chairman of the Tibet Autonomous Region, Gyatsen Norbu. The Ambassador was on a one week visit to Lhasa by the Beijing-based Ambassadors of Italy, Ireland, Luxemburg, Portugal and Spain.

Informed sources in Beijing said today that the Ambassadors believed that the visit was unofficial, and may not have known that their alleged remarks were being printed in the Tibetan Press.

"The Italian Ambassador said definitely that Tibet is an inseparable part of Chinese territory", claimed Tibet Daily in its Chinese language edition, using unusually fulsome language. The official Party newspaper had described the December 1st meeting with Chairman Gyatsen Norbu as "friendly".

The Ambassadors were told by Norbu that recent unrest in Lhasa was unconnected to ethnic or religious issues. It was, he told them, an attempt by "reactionary forces to destroy the unification of the motherland". The paper did not report any other remarks by the Ambassadors.

The report, which was heavily featured by the Tibet paper, was not picked up by Xinhua, the official Chinese News Agency which distributes news abroad. According to some observers, this suggests that the Ambassadors may have intended the visit to be unpublicised. None of the countries involved are known to have released any public information about the visit.

It is unusual for informed Western officials to make categorical statements about Tibet's status within China. Most diplomats prefer either to avoid the issue or to qualify recognition of Chinese sovereignty by describing Tibet as "at present" part of China.

The Ambassador's highly controversial remark is likely to create controversy within the European Community, which has avoided such assertions. The British Government only recognises China's "special position" in Tibet, and has described this recognition as "conditional".

### Nordic Ambassadors lectured on "interference"

The Ambassadors, who travelled to Tibet with their wives on 26 November, all came from EEC countries which have not yet broken the Chinese ban on meeting the Dalai Lama. A visit the previous week by Scandinavian diplomats was heavily publicised in their home countries and in Tibet, and led to strongly critical comments from the Ambassadors about China's treatment of political prisoners in Lhasa.

The Tibet Daily on 16 November gave a detailed account of Gyatsen Norbu's lecture to the Scandinavian Ambassadors on 14th November. Norbu told the diplomats that they were interfering in China's internal affairs. But the Tibet Daily report included a strong hint that the Scandinavians, through the Danish Ambassador, had made a strong challenge on human rights abuses in Tibet.

The Danish diplomat, speaking for the group, said the purpose of their visit was "co-operation", according to the paper. The Chinese have said that one of their main aims this year is to increase foreign Co-operation in Tibet.

But the Ambassador made the offer in strictly conditional terms, according to the report in Tibet Daily on 19 November. "We will report to our government our feelings about Tibet from this visit and see if we can undertake co-operation with regard to health, culture and even industry," said the Ambassador, according to Tibet Daily.

The paper added, "Ambassador Ar Na Bei Lin also talked about the important events of the last three years", suggesting that he had voiced human rights concerns. The rest of the report was devoted to Norbu's detailed accusation that the Ambassadors were interfering in China's internal affairs.

### Chinese Pleased with UK Policy

The Chinese Government has indicated its satisfaction with the refusal of the British Prime Minister to meet with the exiled Tibetan Leader, the Dalai Lama, according to reports from Reuters in Beijing.

Prime Minister Major wrote on 13th February that he would not meet with the Tibetan Leader.

"I have concluded that it would not be right for me to meet the Dalai Lama during his visit", he wrote.

In an article published on Tuesday 19th February the Beijing Daily quoted the Prime Minister as saying "it is not appropriate for me to meet with the Dalai Lama during his visit".

The article, later carried by another official Party paper, the English-language China Daily, was headlined "Major refuses to meet Dalai Lama".

Reuters quoted diplomats in Beijing as saying that the tone of the report clearly indicated China's approval of Major's decision.

Diplomats told Reuters that the Chinese are especially sensitive about Britain's position on Tibet, because the UK has never fully recognised Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. Instead the British recognise an imprecise arrangement originally referred to as suzerainty.

The Chinese are almost certain to be keen to get the British to declare unequivocal acceptance of their claims over Tibet, which they invaded in 1950. For historical

reasons, this will hinge on the British being able to argue that present-day Tibet enjoys autonomy.

### Signs of a deal?

In this case China's public approval of Major's position is unusual, since the British policy has always insisted on refusing to meet the Tibetan leader.

The letter from Major conceded that the Dalai Lama, who will visit London for 5 days from 17th March, will meet the Lord Chancellor, described by Major himself as "a senior member of Parliament". The lack of Chinese reaction to this concession suggests that some deal may have been struck with the British.

The concession is a complete turnaround in British policy, and in normal circumstances would have been expected to draw extensive complaints from the Chinese. In April 1989 the Chinese issued a warning, since repeated, that any meeting by foreign officials with the Dalai Lama or his officials would be considered an act "unfriendly to China".

Their decision to ignore the planned meeting with the Lord Chancellor may indicate that the British have given them re-assurance of a more fundamental kind.

The Lord Chancellor has no public political profile, but sits at Cabinet meetings and is regarded in ceremonial terms as senior to the Prime Minister, according to some authorities.

### British PM denies Tibetan self-determination

Prime Minister Major justified his decision to refuse to meet the Nobel Prize winner by claiming that a meeting with the "spiritual figure" might be "later portrayed by his supporters in a political manner".

The argument is similar to that of Major's predecessor, Mrs Thatcher, who refused to meet the Dalai Lama because such a meeting might be "open to misunderstanding". On one occasion in January 1990, however, she admitted that the real reason was "wider considerations including Hong Kong".

The new British Prime Minister adopts a franker and more conciliatory tone than his predecessor. But he goes even further than she did in trying to deny political credibility to the Tibetans, saying that "the Dalai Lama's aspirations for self-determination for Tibet have not been endorsed by any other government".

The remark ignores the 1961 and 1965 resolutions of the United Nations, which specifically endorsed the right of the Tibetan people to self-determination. Both were supported by the UK and the USA. The statement reflects continuing efforts by the British Government to disentangle themselves from the Tibet question.

### Nepal Forced to Cancel Dalai Lama Visit

TIN News Update/February 8, 1991

The Government of Nepal has yielded to intense Chinese pressure and refused to allow the exiled Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama, to visit Nepal.

The Nepalese Government cancelled the visit on "technical grounds". It said that the Dalai Lama must obtain his visa from China, according to a report by the Press Trust of India on 3rd February. The Kathmandu Government is reported to have said that this was "because he is a Chinese citizen".

Between 1,000 and 2,000 Tibetan refugees travelled through Nepal without opposition from the Government in the last three months of 1990, and none were required to have formal papers from China.

On 26th January the Chinese Ambassador in Nepal, Li Debiao, "urged" Dr K.P.Bhattarai, Nepal's interim Prime Minister, to stop the visit. Unconfirmed reports in Kathmandu say that the Chinese "threatened severe consequences" if the visit went ahead, with some sources claiming that this included a threat to make it impossible to hold the forthcoming general elections, due to take place on 12th May 1991.

Last month the interim Government had apparently agreed that the Dalai Lama could visit Kathmandu for a week on 23th February at the request of the Buddhist Welfare Association of Nepal, according to an announcement by the Association on 16th January.

The Association had given an assurance that the visit was "purely for religious purposes" and the current Prime Minister of Nepal is known to have personally approved of the visit at the time. The Government claims that 7% of Nepalis are Buddhist, but unofficial sources put the figure at over 40%.

A spokesman for the Buddhist Community in Kathmandu, which today formed an action group composed of over 10 local organisations, called this evening for the international community to express the strongest concern about the Chinese pressure. "We condemn in the strongest terms the interference by the Chinese authorities in the affairs of a small and friendly neighbour", said the spokesman.

He added that the Chinese pressure was a violation of "rights to freedom of religious, and the rights of an internationally known person to freedom of movement", and announced that the Buddhist Community in Nepal would press on with its plan to invite the Tibetan leader to Nepal.

In a statement issued on 5th February the Tibetan Government-in-exile said that the Dalai Lama "regrets that his acceptance to visit Nepal and to give teachings to the Buddhist community there has caused some inconvenience to the Government of Nepal."

The exile Government pointed out that the Dalai Lama has travelled "to many countries over the years without any difficulty despite repeated attempts by the Chinese government to control his freedom of movement".

The Tibetan leader was able to visit Nepal in 1981, but the country is afterwards believed to have come under intense pressure to give an undertaking to the Chinese that it would not allow any repeat visit.

The Panchayat Government's sensitivity over the issue was so strong that the Dalai Lama's photograph is said never to have been shown on television in Nepal until he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in October 1989.

The Panchayat Government was ousted in February last year and replaced by a democratic multi-party system. However, the current Government is especially vulnerable to foreign pressure because it relies on cross-party coalition support.

### **China-Nepal Trade links to be "enlarged"**

China has recently intensified its attempts to strengthen contacts with the new Nepali Government, sending an economic delegation to arrange cross-border trade for a 7 day visit in November last year. The 5-person team, described by the official papers in Tibet as a "Chinese delegation", was headed by a vice-chairman of the Regional Government. The team returned to Lhasa on 17th November

The team "held talks to further promote the mutual friendly cooperation and strengthen the mutual economic and commerce relationship", according to Tibet Daily on 18th November 1990. "The trip to Nepal was smooth and successful [and] the friendship between China and Nepal was further strengthened", said the paper.

The delegation visited Nepal's Prime minister and 7 of his ministers. They discussed trade arrangements, as well as plans to increase trade and to hold further talks in 1991. "They also exchanged opinions on aspects of the cooperations in industry and tourism", said the newspaper.

Plans were made to "further consolidate and develop the friendly relationship between Nepal and the Tibetan autonomous region through enlarging the mutual economic and commerce cooperation".

An official Buddhist delegation of Chinese Buddhists spent a week in Nepal on 3rd January this year to "promote exchanges between the Buddhist circles of the two countries".

### **Parliament Supports Tibetan Self-Determination**

TIN News Update/ London 8th Jan 1990

The Australian Senate has expressed unanimous support for the right of Tibetans to self-determination. Believed to be the first parliamentary support for Tibetans' political claims since China joined the UN in 1971, this is a major development for Tibetan nationalists. Until now Tibetans have received parliamentary support only for the protection of their individual human rights.

The Australian Senate passed the resolution by a unanimous decision on 6th December 1990. Although the body of the text referred to human rights abuses in Tibet, the preamble was careful to endorse the United Nations General Assembly Resolution of 1961 which called for an end to "practices which deprive the Tibetan people of their rights to self-determination".

The Chinese Embassy in Australia later issued a statement expressing "strong dissatisfaction over the Australian Senate's brutal interference in China's internal affairs," according to Xinhua on 11 December. The accusations against China are "totally groundless" and it hoped that the Senate would "refrain from further such moves that hurt the feeling of the Chinese people", said the Embassy.

Tibet's Foreign Minister in exile, Kalon Tenzin Tethong, who was in Canberra at the time, said of the Senate vote, "Tibet is back on the international agenda".

Mr Tethong had been invited to the Australian capital by the Australia Tibet Council, which lobbies for support for the Tibetan independence, for meetings with senior officials and Parliamentarians. "This resolution is evidence of the fast growing concern of political leaders throughout the world for the worsening situation in occupied Tibet," he said.

The Senate used uncompromising language in calling for the Chinese to begin "earnest discussions, without preconditions, with the Dalai Lama and his representatives". The move signals Australia's growing impatience with Beijing's continued repression in Tibet and its failure to respond constructively to the Tibetan leader's call for negotiations. In September 1988 the Chinese promised to meet the Dalai Lama anywhere in the world but have since rejected every suggestion of a venue or a date for such talks.

The re-affirmation of the United Nations resolutions paves the way for a more active Australian role at the U.N. on this issue and follows moves by a number of other western countries in support of the Dalai Lama's peace initiatives and human rights concerns.

Dr. Michael van Walt, Legal Adviser to the Dalai Lama, accompanied the Tibetan Minister in Australia, said that the resolution, which was bipartisan, recognised "that the problem of Tibet goes beyond individual rights. The real issue is the violation of Tibet's right to self-determination. That is increasingly being recognized", he said.

### **Chinese Deputy Foreign Minister on Sino-British relations**

TIN News Update/ London 22 Nov 1990

The first Chinese Minister to visit Britain since the Tiananmen Massacre indicated that China's relations with Britain are improving rapidly.

But there was evidence that an otherwise blooming relationship might be marred by British concerns about Chinese policies in Tibet.

At the end of 3 days of meetings with Foreign Office Ministers in London, Deputy Foreign Minister Tian Zengpei told a press conference today Thursday 22 November that the visit had "contributed to the development of friendly relations".

He singled out the departing Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher for special praise for "her efforts in restoring friendly ties between the two countries" and expressed



the hope that her successor would continue to develop friendly relations between the two countries.

Tian revealed that both Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State, and Lord Caithness, a junior Minister at the Foreign Office, had accepted invitation to visit China next year. He described these as evidence of the growing improvement in Sino-British relations.

#### Tibet outburst

But China appears to have hardened its position on Tibet, judging by the Minister's outspoken criticism of the exiled Tibetan leader, the Dalai Lama. Calling any connection between the Dalai Lama and human rights "absurd", Tian told journalists that the Dalai Lama had ruled Tibet "in a way more ruthless than even that seen in the Middle Ages in Europe".

The Minister claimed that the Dalai Lama had fled from Tibet in 1959 "precisely because the Chinese tried to encourage [him] to carry out democratic reforms." The Chinese usually claim that the Dalai Lama was abducted or misled by aristocratic rebels before the reforms began.

The uncompromising statement may have been precipitated by the British Government's insistence on raising the question of Tibet high on its agenda for discussions with Tian. UK Foreign Office officials made it clear today that British Ministers had raised not just the question of human rights in China but also what UK officials described as "the subject of Tibet" with the Chinese delegation.

Despite Chinese protests, the Dalai Lama was received last month by both President Weizaecker of Germany and the Deputy Foreign Minister of France. The British are under growing pressure to meet the Dalai Lama when he visits Britain in March 1991. He has already been received by the Belgian and Dutch Foreign Ministers this year.

#### Hong Kong - signs of progress?

In an indication that productive discussions over the transfer of power in Hong Kong may be making headway again, Tian said that the visit had "contributed to the solution of some problems".

Tian refused to specify what these problems were while they were "still in the process of settlement" but hinted that one could be the dispute over Hong Kong's second airport.

Beijing may re-consider its opposition to the plan to build a second airport for Hong Kong, according to the Vice Foreign Minister, who said only that China was "unclear" about the scale of the proposal, the amount of money involved and the financial viability of the project. He said China would make its position known when a feasibility study had been completed.

The question of the implementation of British plans to offer passports to certain Hong Kong citizens was not discussed, Tian said.

In discussions over the crisis in the Middle East, the Chinese team re-iterated their opposition to Iraq's "use of force and armed aggression" against Kuwait, but said that a peaceful solution should be pursued. The issue was "serious and complex and must be handled with great prudence and not hurried through", said the Deputy Foreign Minister.

#### URGENT: CORRECTIONS - ADD TO PREVIOUS ISSUE

##### Correction to Drapchi Prison List

November Update: The paragraphs printed as the heading to the list of Drapchi Prisoners on Page 3 of the last issue of TIN News Update 10th November 1990 was incorrect. Please delete the paragraphs beginning "The list printed here..referred to" and "Average space per apartment ... shops for security". The correct introduction is as follows:

##### Drapchi Prison, Lhasa:

##### Political Prisoners, September 1990

ref: TIN Doc 22(QQ)Jnt

The following list gives the names of 77 known political prisoners held at Drapchi Prison, Lhasa, as of 20th September 1990. The names, ages, length of sentences and details of birthplace and workplace are taken directly from an official document. A full version with Tibetan transliterations is available from TIN.

All those named on this list are regarded by local Tibetans as political prisoners arrested in connection with recent pro-independence demonstrations and protests in Lhasa or Shigatse.

Details of charges were not on the original document, but are added from other sources. Charges against 36 of the prisoners named on this list were made public by the Chinese at the time of their arrest; these are marked with an asterisk (\*).

Charges against 25 others are taken from local Tibetan reports; these are prefaced by the word "apparently".

The list is not exhaustive. It names only two of the several women known to be held in Drapchi and does not give details of other women prisoners, nor of prisoners held without charge, in administrative detention, or in other prisons, police stations or detention centres in the Lhasa district.

##### Correction to Doc 1(X)

Doc 1(X) is a list of prisoners, written in November 1989 and circulated by TIN in December 1989. It gave the names of 184 political prisoners held in various jails in Tibet as of October 1989. The names of 3 monks arrested from Draglha Lhubuk [sometimes referred to as Palhalhupuk] Monastery in Lhasa were transliterated incorrectly from the Chinese. They should have been:

Letsoe [Legs Tsod - not Lho tsod],  
Phurchok (not Phartsok)  
and Trinley.

Corrected copies of the full list can be obtained from TIN.

## PANCHEN LAMA

### Retrospective: Political Statements by the Panchen Lama

New evidence has come to light about the political position of the 10th Panchen Lama, Tibet's most senior leader after the Dalai Lama. The Panchen Lama was a controversial figure, often regarded as a mouthpiece for the Chinese.

One of the documents, a booklet produced by a Red Guard faction in the 1960s, describes the remarks by the Panchen Lama which led to his imprisonment and torture during the Cultural Revolution. He was imprisoned for 9 years in 1965, and rehabilitated only in 1978.

Another document, smuggled out of Tibet a few days after the Panchen Lama died in January 1989, gives the complete text of his final speech, delivered only hours before his death. The speech is highly critical of leftist excesses, and is thought by some observers to contain hints of nationalist convictions.

The speech includes a clear message that the Panchen Lama was not prepared to co-operate fully with the Chinese until the Dalai Lama had returned to Tibet and had been fully involved in any decision-making process.

The Panchen Lama had been used since an early age by Chinese politicians to justify the 1950 invasion of Tibet. In October 1949 he sent a long telegram to Mao Zedong and Zhu De in which "he expressed his eagerness for the achievement of the motherland's unification and Tibet's liberation at an early date", according to a leading Chinese textbook, 'Highlights of Tibetan History'.

In fact the Panchen Lama was a child of 11 years old when the telegram was written.

### Call for Independence

The 45-page 1960s booklet is entitled "Deepen Refutations of Lin Biao and Confucius through Criticising Dalai and Panchen - Reference Material". Produced at the height of the Cultural Revolution, probably in 1965, it provides short quotations in Chinese and Tibetan as material for use in criticism sessions of religious or reactionary Tibetans.

In the first chapter, which gives examples of how the two Tibetan leaders were "Harbouring the evil hope of resurrecting autocratic and feudalism serfdom", the Panchen Lama is quoted in the Chinese version as saying:

*"I have planned to invite the Dalai Lama to come back to be the president, and I myself to be the Prime Minister and Defence Minister should Tibet become independent."*

The Tibetan version of the statement is more specific:

*"In the past my pleas has been that after Tibetan Independence, we should welcome the Dalai Lama back as President, and I myself would assume the role of Prime Minister and Minister".*

The booklet reveals that the statement was made by the Panchen Lama during a confession made to the 7th Public Meeting of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region - literally described as the "autonomous organizing committee" - in October 1964, according to the text.

The statement is important because it was made before the Cultural Revolution began, when confessions were extracted in public meetings by force. The quotation appears to correspond with a long-standing report from Tibet that the Panchen Lama was imprisoned in 1965 for calling for Tibetan Independence in a public speech to this Committee in around 1965.

### Democratic Reforms "Violate International Law"

Other material in the text quotes from the Panchen Lama's famous but unpublished 70,000 petition of 18th May 1962, in which he is believed to have appealed to Mao Tsetung to restrain or reverse the "democratic reforms".

The reforms had already achieved the destruction of 80% of Tibet's monasteries before the Cultural Revolution began, according to official Chinese figures released in 1987.

*"It has come as a shock to realise that not a small number of innocent people have been forced to wear the dunce hat of serious crimes and then been subjected to serious punishment and torture..."*

wrote the Panchen Lama in 1962 of the reforms then in process, according to the booklet.

In the same letter he criticised the Democratic Reforms then in progress, making ironic reference to the Party's mnemonic rallying calls, probably the five loves for the Party, the country, the motherland, socialism, the people, and the collective.

According to the booklet, in his petition to Mao he wrote,

*"the great movement of democratic reform ... includes some other six loves. They are; love of noise, love of carelessness, love of flattery, love of argument, love of trouble-making and love of attacking others."*

He went on to write that "the nature of the 'three oppositions and three rectifications' has changed to 'It is more powerful to kill the innocent sheep than to kill the guilty wolf'". The editors of the booklet added a note explaining that the 'two threes' referred to "the democratic reforms of the monasteries".

In the same petition he looked back to the reaction of the authorities to the 1959 Uprising which followed the Dalai Lama's flight to India. 87,000 people are reported to have been killed in the year after the Uprising for their involvement, according to a reported broadcast on Radio Lhasa in 1960. "The indiscriminate arrest and detention of people after the [1959] Uprising ... is the violation of all decent norms of international law", wrote the Panchen Lama in his 1962 petition.

This quotation is in the section of the book reserved for examples of "Attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat in the name of 'morality', 'kindness and justice', 'sincerity and conscientiousness'".

As another example of this form of attack on the proletariat, the book quotes a saying by a well-known Tibetan Lama, Sakya Kunga Gyaltsen: "What you do not like for yourself, Do not inflict upon others".

On 19th May 1963 the Panchen Lama wrote what the book describes as a "Counter-Revolutionary Prediction Letter", in which he appears to have advised people to restrain themselves and wait for communism to wither away. The passage quoted is in verse form:

*"The purposeful task, inspiring luck and joy,  
Keep to yourself under self-control.  
However intense the red flame,  
It cannot match the blueness of the water".*

#### Final Speech

The Panchen Lama died during a rare trip in 1989 to the traditional seat of the Panchen Lamas in Shigatse. The trip was to inaugurate a memorial building constructed to house the tombs of the previous five Panchen Lamas.

The 51-year old Lama, who was not in good health, died a day later, apparently from a heart attack, according to Chinese statements.

His mother and father were taken to hospital with heart attacks the same day or the day before, and his senior tutor, also travelling with him, died from a heart attack the next day. This series of incidents led to unresolved doubts about the incident. A British pathologist commented at the time, "there is no such thing as an epidemic of heart attacks".

The Panchen Lama's last speech, of which a hand-written copy was sent to the outside world by Tibetan activists in Lhasa, is a powerful and uncompromising attack on ultra-leftist tendencies in Chinese, and perhaps Tibetan, politics.

Although many Chinese dignitaries were present, the speech appears to have been given in Tibetan.

The Lama goes to great length in his speech to attack the politics which led to the destruction of the monasteries in Tibet, and appeared to dedicate the Mausoleum as a memorial to the destructiveness of earlier Chinese policy.

"This has caused very bad consequences both inside and outside the country", he says. "These have all been systematically perpetrated under Leftist policies towards religion. This is a total mistake ... there is no doubt whatsoever that evil consequences will follow as a result of such mistakes," said the Lama, who did not suggest the mistakes or the consequences were already in the past.

Chinese leaders are allowed to criticise the excesses of the Cultural Revolution, although the language used here is unusually strong. But the Tibetan leader makes a number of insinuations which suggest that he thought the excesses were not limited just to the Cultural Revolution period. He says that "the despicable vandalism ... in Tibet and Tibetan-inhabited areas" had taken place "mainly during the 'Cultural Revolution' and other periods during the successive political upheavals."

"This is a total mistake committed both at the level of the collective and at the level of the individuals concerned", he said, in a phrase that could be read as a criticism of the Party as well as of the individuals involved.

The speech is deeply and powerfully religious in parts, and calls for a qualitative understanding of religious freedom which could be seen as an important critique of the Party's claim to have allowed religious freedom:

*"It is neither a renovation work [intended] merely to hold religious functions, nor is it an attempt to follow the old society's traditional custom of renovating and opening monasteries. Rather than feel concerned about the number of monasteries in comparison to the past, ... my primary concern is not the numbers of monks and nuns but rather their quality in terms of their adherence to strict religious discipline [dul Khriims gtsangs] and pure moral responsibility..."*

#### Refuses to act without Dalai Lama

The Panchen Lama's choice of historical references are also ambiguous. In what is a clear signal of his attitude to the Dalai Lama, he repeats an otherwise entirely irrelevant quotation from a predecessor who, he says, refused to co-operate with the British, depicted as an earlier set of imperialist invaders, in 1904.

He claims that the previous Panchen Lama told the British: "According to tradition, the major issues relating to Tibet concern both the Victorious Father and the Son. That is to say, it is necessary for both the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni to confer. Since His Holiness Thupten Gyatso the 12th Dalai Lama is not in Tibet at this time, I alone cannot make a decision."

The Panchen Lama comments on this, "He has thus set a high personal example to future generations by his lofty character and by his clear understanding of the interests involved".

In an apparent attempt to describe the Cultural Revolution as a "periodic catastrophe" typical of great civilizations in world history, the Panchen Lama makes three unusual analogies to civilisations which collapsed

without trace as a result of the "catastrophes" which were not at all periodic: "We have the remains of the Roman civilization, the Mayan Cultural remains and the Babylonian civilisation - all of which stand as testimony to the effects of evil winds of history or occurrences of periodic catastrophe".

Although the speech expresses unequivocal support of the Communist Party's Policies on Nationalities, it makes no other concessions to Communist propaganda or rhetoric. There are no references to socialism or to any named Chinese historic leaders, and there are no suggestions that there has been any economic or social improvement under Chinese rule. The benefits of the Party's current nationalities policy are described only in terms of their ability to repair the damage caused by the Party's earlier policies.

A number of critics of the Party's religious policies, including some Chinese scholars, have described them as repairing the damage done by Cultural Revolution without solving the fundamental questions of Chinese relations with other nationalities and cultures.

The Lama repeats several times that the Mausoleum is dedicated to the Party's religious policy, and to the friendship between the Tibetans and the Chinese. The dedication is somewhat ambiguous and can be read as a suggestion that the Mausoleum commemorates the destructiveness of Party policies and the contentious nature of its 'friendship' with Tibetans.

"This well designed, majestic East Tashi Namgyal Mausoleum of the Panchen Lamas is a national and concrete testimony to the noble and correct Nationalities and Religious policy held by the Chinese communist party ... I feel justified to claim, without exaggeration or bragging that this is an achievement resulting from the joint efforts of the Tibetan people and the Chinese people," said the Tibetan Leader.

According to some Tibetans, the repeated insistence of the Panchen Lama on the notion of patriotism may have been a veiled signal to his Tibetan audience. Although he usually speaks of patriotism in terms of loyalty to the Chinese motherland, at one point he describes his predecessor as "an impeccable model of the power of Tibetan Nationalism and a standard bearer par excellence." It is not clear if this is a mistake or a cultivated ambiguity.

#### **The Panchen Lama's Last Speech: Full Text**

[TIN Ref: Doc 11(P), 17(P), 26 pages handwritten in kyuk, cyclostyled; received from Tibet February 1989]

#### **TEXT:**

*Honourable leaders, guests, spiritual friends, comrades and friends:*

*Today, here in the grand monastery of Tashi Lhunpo, I hereby declare open the Tashi Namgyal shrine containing the renovated tombs of the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Panchen Lamas.*

*On this solemn occasion my comrade leaders from the various Departments of the Peoples Republic of China [Kruung dByangs], comrade Hu Jin Tao and the TAR's Party, Political and Military leaders and comrades and the comrades of their different departments, the heads and leaders from Qinghai, Gansu, Sichuan, Yunnan provinces as well as the Tibetan autonomous prefectures and counties therein, the venerable lamas and incarnate lamas from the Tibet-Mongolia areas, representatives of the monasteries and all other distinguished guests from other areas - all of you who have braved both long distance and high altitude to be here - in short, members of the highest echelons of the PRC downwards representing both Party and Government, the religious personalities, and the large gathering of devout people - this gathering is a symbol of your sense of collective responsibility and appreciation for the successful renovation and opening of the Tashi Namgyal Shrine housing the tombs of all the Panchen Lamas, from the Fifth to the Ninth.*

*This is a strong proof of the Party's correct Nationalities and Religious Policy. Moreover your august presence here for the opening ceremony of our shrine lends both dignity and solemnity to the occasion. This gives me great pleasure.*

*In my capacity as the true lineage holder of the Panchen Lamas and as the Democratic Chairman [Kru Ren] of Tashi Lhunpo Monastery and on behalf of the Democratic Management Committee of Tashi Lhunpo [bkas lhun dmangs bDag 'u Yon lhu Khang]; abbots and teachers, the assembly of monks and on behalf of Snow Range Development Foundation and the functionaries of all their branches [Bod Gangs rgyan Dar sPel sPyi sDom mThun gNyer Khang ma lag mams kyi las bzo yongs rZhogs]; and in my capacity as the chairman [Kru ren] of the Renovation Committee of the Tashi Namgyal shrine; and on behalf of all those responsible for the work - comrades, workers, Tibetan and Chinese skilled builders and labourers, I welcome you all, thank you all and express my deep sense of appreciation.*

*Today is an important occasion from the point of view of history [Lor gyus], an occasion of happiness that inspires many thoughts. I, the tenth Panchen, Choekyi Gyaltsen, being the authentic holder of the lineage, find special reason to feel happiness and satisfaction in wishing to draw your attention to several things.*

*First of all, I will briefly present an account of the need and gradual progress of the renovation [gSar bZhengs] of the Tashi namgyal shrine to house the tomb of the Panchens. As you all know, Tsang Tashi Lhunpo, the magnificent congregation, is one of the four great monastic centres of Tibet. It is also widely known as one of the six great centres of the Gelugpa sect throughout the whole of the Tibetan areas.*

*This is not only a focus of the Yellow Hat sect tradition - preserving, continuing and promoting the teachings of the Buddha - but also an autonomous centre for the political and spiritual domain of the*



successive Panchen Lamas. It is also one of the major historic nationalities cultural centres of the Motherland.

Here in Tashi Lhunpo are the statues of Thubwang Dudulma [Thub dbang 'dud bdul ma], the Buddha that subdues demons, commissioned by Je Gendun Drup [rJe dGe 'dun 'grub]; the world's supreme gold and brass gilded statue of Maitreya; the statue of Kadong Champa [dG'a gDong Byams pa], well known as the necklace ornament of Lha Tshangs pa; the orange robed Talking Tara; Vajradhara, the opponent of spirits [gDon]; and similar holy relics and artefacts that symbolise the body, voice and mind [sku gSung Thugs] of the Buddhas running into several thousands - especially the stupa entombing the holy remains of Je Gendun Drup [rJe dGe 'dun Grub]; the stupas containing the embalmed remains of the 4th to 9th Panchen Lamas - all these holy shrines radiate brilliance and blessings like the rays of the sun and the moon.

That is why the State Political Supreme Council [rGyal Srid sPyi Khyab Khang] had declared in 1960 that Tashi Lhunpo was one of the Major National Monuments for protection. However, during the "Cultural Revolution" the precious and holy artefacts representing the Body, Voice and Mind of the Buddha, and all other monumental articles were destroyed or damaged - in particular, the tombs, stupas and the shrines of the line of successive Panchen Lamas. This has caused very bad consequences both inside and outside the country.

The reason for the above may be given from a religious point of view. All the successive Panchen reincarnations had turned out to be profoundly learned and great proponents of Buddhism, inspiring deep faith and reverence from all - lay and ecclesiastical, male or female - thus attaining religious pre-eminence as protectors of Buddhism.

From a political point of view, all the Panchen Erdeni lineage-holders have proved to be lovers of the Motherland [Mes rGyal dG'a Zhen] and promoting and protecting the unity of the Motherland, promoting friendly relations between the Tibetan and Chinese peoples and promoting unity among the Tibetan people themselves. Such manifestations of their great achievements are recorded in history, of which the accounts might be narrated one by one like counting the beads of a rosary.

For example, the Sixth Panchen, Palden Yeshe, had, to help promote and consolidate the friendly relations between the Tibetan and Chinese people and other brotherly nationalities of the Motherland, braved the risk of long distance travel by crossing rivers, mountains and plains with an entourage of lay and ecclesiastical followers, numbering over a thousand, to the capital city of Emperor Chen Lung on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. The two had discussed both religious and political issues. Emperor Cheng Lung, for his part had, in deep reverence of the Panchen's life and work, paid great tributes and made lavish gifts. However, in the course of performing such a patriotic task, the Panchen was, unfortunately, struck by smallpox,

and the disease claimed his life whilst he was in Peking. This is recorded clearly in the Annals, and succeeding generations of people have continued to pay tribute and homage to him.

Again, when Choekyi Nyima, the 9th Panchen Lama, was approached and intimidated by the British imperialists in their devious attempt to separate Tibet from the Chinese Motherland, His Holiness stood firm in his resolve and categorically told the invaders that Tibet was a part of China and therefore, he would not enter into any discussion [or treaty?] with anyone in betrayal of Zhongguo [China]. He had, likewise, worked for the protection and consolidation of the unity among the Tibetans and told the invaders in no uncertain terms:

"According to tradition, the major issues relating to Tibet concern both the Victorious Father and the Son, that is to say, it is necessary for both the Dalai Lama and Panchen Erdeni to confer. Since His Holiness Thupten Gyatso the 12th Dalai Lama is not in Tibet at this time, I alone cannot make a decision."

He has thus set a high personal example to future generations by his lofty character and by his clear understanding of the interests involved in upholding the integrity [gChig 'gyur] of the Motherland, and in protecting and promoting the friendship of the nationalities.

More recently, because of the deepening conflict between the Nationalists [rGyal gChes] and the Imperialists [btsen Nyel] in Tibet, between Integrationalists [literally, 'unitists'] and Splittists, conditions became impossible for the Panchen to remain in Tibet. Thus he was forced to go inland to the mainland where, during the course of fifteen years stay, the Panchen travelled extensively, braving all risks by visiting people in the areas that lie between the south and north of the Dri Chu river on the one side, and the Great Wall of China on the other, proclaiming that Tibet was an inalienable part of China.

At the time when the Imperialists' surrogates [bTsan rGyal Ring Nugs Pa] promoted splittist propaganda activities, the Panchen Lama promptly denounced them categorically and thus proved himself an impeccable model of the power of Tibetan Nationalism and a standard bearer par excellence.

The wanton destruction of the tombs and the shrines of great nationalist spiritual leaders like him, whose life and work shine so brightly, as recorded in the Annals, brings great damage to the name and honour of our Party and Government, and spreads the poison of bad feeling and resentment in the hearts of the religious-minded whose loyalty and interests are deeply hurt.

In view of such reasons, in my capacity as the undisputed lineage-holder of the Panchen Lamas, and as a confirmed Nationalist, it is my bounden duty to shoulder the onerous responsibility of overseeing the task of restoring the shrine housing

the tombs of the successive Panchen Lamas. This is a responsibility that I can neither shirk nor delegate.

Therefore, in 1982, with the kind support of the Central Authorities [Krungr dbyangs] and by the power of the spontaneous love and welcome of the Tibetan people, I had a chance, after eighteen long years, to come to the self-administered Tashi Lhunpo [Rang sKhyong dGon sa bkra Shis Lhunpo] where, during the "Cultural Revolution", the tombs of the Panchen Lamas had been destroyed with pieces thrown away or into the river. At that time a few devout believers had, at the risk of their own lives, through all means of cleverness and resourcefulness, salvaged the damaged pieces of the tombs and hidden them away for safety.

During my visit in 1982 these very people came voluntarily to offer the hidden pieces of the tombs. They said to me:

"You are the only and rightful owner of these tombs. We beg you to receive these pieces and to renovate the shrines so that we might have objects of worship".

Likewise, many faithful followers from the Tibetan and Mongolian areas as well as many national and international dignitaries expressed their wish and hope for an early reconstruction of these shrines and tombs.

Therefore, I approached my comrade leaders of the Central Authorities [Krungr dByangs] with these requests:

- that the reconstruction of one, grand common tomb from the collected remnants of the original tombs of the Fifth to the Ninth Panchens might be considered,
- that the Central Government help the project by financing it,
- that the TAR Government, Tashi Lhunpo Monastery and I myself be given joint responsibility for the reconstruction project, and
- that I personally be given principal responsibility to renovate the tomb.

The proposal received the most sympathetic and [word unclear] consideration from my comrade leaders of the Central Authorities [Krungr dByangs] who granted official approval for the project. Thereafter, taking full responsibility, I established the Administrative Office [l'aGo 'khrid Las Khungs] and the Executive Office [Las bstr Las Khungs]. During the four years of planning we received help and support from all quarters, especially from the Party and Government leadership of the Shigatse area. With the active support of the leadership, and of the large number of Tibetan and Chinese artisans and labourers who worked very hard, we completed the project according to the specifications of the plan. We named the shrine: Tashi Namgyal, The East Shrine of the Panchens [Shar Panchen sku gDung bkra shis nman rgyal].

The bulk of the expenditure for this tomb has been provided by the state. Tashi Lhunpo monastery itself has contributed a large sum and the balance has been accounted for by the Snow Lion Development Fund. Here, I would once again thank the Party and the Government.

Now I would like to express and reiterate my personal opinion or my own position with regard to the despicable vandalism of completely destroying the tombs of the Panchen Lamas during the so called "Cultural revolution" and the present period of revival under the aegis and guidance of the Party and the Government. [Tang dang rGyal Khab kyi thugs 'khor]

1. Large scale destruction of the major religious monuments like the tombs of the Panchen Lamas and other holy artifacts in Tashi Lhunpo as well as the large scale destruction of the holy artefacts symbolising the Body, Voice and Mind of the Buddha in most of the monasteries in Tibet and Tibetan-inhabited areas had taken place mainly during the "Cultural Revolution" and others during the successive political upheavals.

Whether viewed from the perspective of Tibet or from the perspective of the monasteries as centres for the preservation and promotion of Tibetan people's culture or from the perspective of the Tibetan people's deep religious faith and attachment to spiritual values, the destruction of the monasteries and the holy artefacts therein, these have all been systematically perpetrated under Leftist policies towards religion. This is a total mistake committed both at the level of the collective and at the level of the individuals concerned. There is no doubt whatsoever that evil consequences will follow as a result of such mistakes.

However, it is inappropriate to say that the destructive forces of the "Cultural Revolution" was directed solely against Tibet or against the Tibetan nationality because the spate of wanton destruction and vandalism that took place in Tibet and Tibetan-inhabited areas also took place all over the country at the national level and in all the areas of the 56 Nationalities including the Chinese, during the Cultural Revolution. It is all the more wrong to describe the event as the complete destruction of Tibetan culture by the Chinese because it is hard to justify the argument that the Chinese are responsible for the catastrophe and the complete destruction of a culture that is a part of the Chinese culture.

Therefore, any attempt(s) to incite nationalistic sentiments and to sow seeds of distrust in order to undermine the relationship of the Nationalities on grounds of the general destruction caused during the "Cultural revolution" and by referring to the destruction of religion and monasteries in particular, would be considered nothing but the attitude of those with ulterior motives.

2. The "Cultural Revolution" was a colossal mistake and a catastrophe. There have been similar periods of catastrophe in history, for example; if we

consider the early history of Tibet's Puryal kingdoms, Langdharma destroyed Buddhism and Tibetan culture and literature. If we look at the world scene, we have the remains of the Roman civilization, the Mayan Cultural remains and the Babylonian civilisation [Paa Yis klun] - all of which stand as testimony to the effects of evil winds of history or occurrences of periodic catastrophe.

Those who cite the examples of such historical catastrophe to scare people, and who even go to the extent of imputing genocidal motives, are committing an exaggeration that betrays their own ulterior motives.

3. The main aim and purpose of renovating the monastery and opening the religious door is to satisfy adequately the spiritual needs of the masses of believers and to preserve and promote the teachings of Lord Buddha as enshrined in the Sutras and the Tantras. It is neither a renovation work merely to hold religious functions nor is it an attempt to follow the traditional old society's custom of renovating and opening monasteries. Rather than feel concerned about the number of monasteries in comparison to the past, my chief concerns are :

(a) whether or not the monasteries can truly become centres of continuing study and propagation of the fundamentals of Buddhism [Lungs rtogs gnyis];

(b) the success or failure to avoid negativity and to accumulate merit, which is the essence of Buddhism;

(c) subduing the self and devoting oneself to others.

Likewise, my primary concern is not the numbers of monks and nuns but rather their quality in terms of their adherence to strict religious discipline; [dul Khriims gtsangs] pure moral responsibility; study, contemplation and reflection through debates and compositions; engaging themselves wholeheartedly in the pursuit of Sutras and Tantras- thus following the oft repeated teachings of Buddha Shakya Muni and TsongKhapa, the Victorious One from the East. Only thus could the fundamentals of Buddhism be continued and promoted.

4. The essence of Buddhism is :

"Refrain from committing any negative act,  
Accumulate as much merit as you can,  
Subdue your mind completely,  
Enrich the whole land with plenty,  
Bring peace to all sentient beings,  
And realize the two purposes successfully."

So, the aim of our efforts to renovate the shrine and tomb of the Panchen Lamas, who had distinguished themselves in the religious sphere as learned, persevering and model scholars by preserving, propagating and promoting Buddhism, and in the political sphere, by continuing the tradition of boldness in patriotism [rGyal dches kyi snying stobs]

and of exemplary contribution to the progress of the country and well being of the people, is to afford us an opportunity to remind ourselves, with gratitude, of their kindness. As the saying goes:

"Lives of the past Buddhas inspire the practice of those who are to follow the path in future."

We too, may take encouragement from their examples to follow them and to guide successive generations of through sheer personal effort.

Expecting personal recognition or widespread fame is not at all my aim. If it were, the succeeding Panchen lineage-holders would be entitled to feel shame.

If I may, I would once again like to comment briefly upon the political reality/implications of the renovation of the shrine housing the tomb of the Fifth to the Ninth Panchen Lamas.

As stated earlier, the successful renovation of the Tashi Namgyal shrine has been made possible the enlightened vision and responsibility of the Central Authorities [Krung dByangs], the whole-hearted support and help of the TAR Party and the People's Government, the support of the Shigatse Regional Committee and the Zhing Hru'u and related departments, and the Tashi Lhunpo and branch monasteries who conscientiously pooled their efforts through their Renovation Committee members, Executive Office staff, skilled Tibetan and Chinese professionals, craftsmen and workers - all of whom have individually and jointly contributed to make this project such a success.

Therefore, this well designed, majestic East Tashi Namgyal Mausoleum of the Panchen Lamas is a national and concrete testimony to the noble and correct Nationalities and Religious policy held by the Chinese communist party [Krung Go'i Gung Phm gyi]. It is also a symbol of the friendship between the two great peoples of Tibetan and China as well as the symbol of the patriotic tradition [rGyal gChes ring lugs pa] of Tibet's large number of religious followers and lay people. I feel justified to claim, without exaggeration or bragging that this is an achievement resulting from the joint efforts of the Tibetan people and the Chinese people. Anyone present here who has come to the shrine for blessings or on a visit, if objectively minded, will not fail to realize:

- the correctness of the Party's Nationalities policy
- the importance of the friendship between the Tibetan and Chinese people
- the need for continuing the policy of upholding [rgyal gChes ring lugs] national patriotism.

I have no doubt about these.

I believe that this majestic and grand Mausoleum Tashi Namgyal which enshrines the holy remains of the Panchen Lamas would bless Tibet and Tibetans

*in all areas, promote their friendship, development and march on the path of progress till eternity.*

*Before concluding this talk, I wish once again to express my deep respects to the leaders of the Central Authorities [Krunq dByangs] and to the comrade leaders of Tibet for taking responsibility and supporting the renovation of the mausoleum.*

*I thank the Shigatse Party, Political and Military comrade leaders for providing all the necessary*

*assistance; I thank all those concerned with the renovation project - leaders, members of the Tashi Lhunpo monastery and its branches; I thank all of you who have come from far away places, braving acclimatisation risks to participate in the opening function of the Tashi Namgyal Mausoleum of the Panchen Lamas; Honourable guests, spiritual friends, comrades, friends, I thank you all.*

*Finally, I pray that all those present may enjoy good health and success in their endeavours. Tashi delek.*

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